

VIEW of the True INTEREST
OF THE
Several STATES
OF
EUROPE
SINCE THE
ACCESSION
Of their Present
MAJESTIES
TO THE
Imperial Crown
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

ALSO
Shewing the many Advantages of a Strict UNION
In Opposition to the Unjust
USURPATIONS and False PRETENSIONS
OF THE
FRENCH KING.

LONDON: Printed for Thomas Newborough at the Golden
Ball, and John Bullord at the Old Black Bear in St. Pauls
Church-Yard. 1689.

Gen. Res. 18 Oct 33 G. 33

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To the READER.

TH E Christian Princes have two great and potent Enemies, that have united and entered into mutual Leagues, to ruin and depopulate Christendom, and to make all the Potentates and Republicks of Europe their Subjects or Tributaries: One is the King of France, and the other is the Emperor of the Turks. The former is an interior Enemy, whose Dominions lie in the midst of Christendom, whereas the latter is an exterior one, of whom they may easily be aware, and consequently is less to be feared. The Grand Signior religiously observes and performs the Conditions of Treaties of Peace or Truce, that he hath made with his greatest Enemies, but the King of France hath regard to them no longer than they turn to his advantage, and owns no other Law; but that of his own Interest. The Grand Signior makes War only against his Enemies; but the King of France hath done it against his Friends, and even against those whom he styles his good Friends, Allies and Confederates. The Grand Signior never makes War till he hath first declared it; but the King of France commits Acts of Hostility without any Declaration, and contrary to the Treaties, and to his Royal Word, and there is no Law so sacred, but he violates it to accomplish his ambitious Designs.

But since it hath pleased God to be so Gracious to the Emperor, and the Republick of Venice, as to pull down the Turkish Empire, and to bring it to the very Brink of Destruction, it is to be hoped, that he will give success to the Arms of the Christian Princes, that have made a League against France, and that he will make them the Glorious Instruments of overthrowing, or at least of weakening so formidable an Enemy of Christendom.

The King of France having devised a Project to make himself Emperor of all Christendom, thought that his pretensions to the Empire, and to the Kingdom and Estates of the King of Spain would be most sure steps whereby he might ascend to the Throne of this Universal Monarchy, and therefore in order to make himself Master of the Empire and Spain, he hath done three things; first he hath endeavoured with all his power to disunite and divide the Christian Princes, especially those of the Empire. Secondly, he hath made use of all his Subtily, and Artifices, to keep the King of England employed in his own Dominions; and to draw him to his Party, because there is no other Prince in Europe so able to oppose and frustrate his great Enterprizes. Thirdly, he hath taken much pains in providing and sending his Emissaries and Pensioners into all the Courts of the Christian Princes to engage them in his Interests, and to binder them from making Leagues against him.

The Author of this little Treatise shews, First, that to enfeeble the growing Power of the French, and to compel them to restore all that they have unjustly usurped; it is absolutely necessary for the Christian Princes to remain strictly united together; and because their Enemies never want Devices and Stratagems, whereby to sow Dissentions and Animosities amongst them, lest they should fall into the same Snare as they did at the Treaty of Nimueguen, where the King of France Triumphed over them, and by this means preserved all his Conquests; he makes it appear in the second place, that this Peace hath been the cause of all the Calumnies that have since happened in Christendom.

Thirdly he Demonstrates, that forasmuch as the French have Violated the Law of Nations, and all the Treaties of Peace and Truce, the Princes ought not to Treat with them upon any account, nor so much as discourse thereof, unless they would be deceived, and suffer themselves to be surprized, as they have been formerly.

To the Reader.

Altho the late Revolution in England hath broken all the Measures of the French, and hath set Bounds to their aspiring Ambition; nevertheless in regard they have hitherto lost nothing, but possess all that they have violently taken away from their Neighbours, either before or after the Truce, and since they yet have their Agents and Pensioners in all the Courts of Europe, who being Persons extremely Subtil and Crafty, endeavour by their Artifices every where to disperse the Seeds of Discord, by promoting private Interests, or fomenting Jealousies; therefore to open the Eyes of the Princes, this ingenious Writer hath taken occasion in the fourth place, to expose the Pretensions of the King of France, to the Empire of Christendom, and to shew how he hath already acted as an Universal Monarch in prescribing Laws to the Pope, the Emperor, and other Christian Princes and Estates.

And whereas the King of France endeavours to ascend the Throne of this Universal Monarchy, by the means of his pretensions to the Empire, and to the Dominions of the King of Spain; in the fifth Article, he discourses of these Pretensions, and of the Interest of all the Christian Princes to oppose him therein, as also of the Methods he hath made use of to obtain these Pretensions.

In the sixth Paragraph he shews, that the King of France hath no grounds for his Pretensions to the Empire, and to the Dominions of the King of Spain, and that the Christian Princes in frustrating them, will perform an Act of Justice and Equity: and in the seventh, he gives an account of the Change that happened in England by the Elevation of the Prince and Princess of Orange to the Throne, and explains the Interest of that Kingdom, and the causes of that Revolution; he shews also that the late King James II. having abandoned his true Interest, to follow the pernicious Counsels of France, hath been the cause of his own ruin, and of those Misfortunes that have since befallen him.

In the eighth Article he represents the true Interest of all the Christian Princes and Estates, since the advancing of the Prince and Princess of Orange to the Throne of England, and the Advantages they may receive thereby: He proves also, that the Office of Captain General of the United Provinces, which this Prince hath reserved to himself, doth not derogate from his Quality or Dignity of being King, but that the keeping of it tends to the general Good and Benefit of all Christendom.

Furthermore he discovers the Design of the King of France in breaking the Truce, and makes it appear, that it was not the Interest of the Cardinal of Furstemberg, nor of the Canons of Colen that induced him to violate it, but that he only made use of it as a Pretence to invade the Empire; afterwards he Treats of the differences that arose between the Court of Rome, and that of France, as well concerning the Franchises as the affair of Colen, he justifies the Conduct of the Pope, and the Equity of his Bull, and declares the unjust proceedings of the French, and their Projects in bindering the Christian Princes from enjoying the benefit of those advantages that they might expect from the Revolution in England.

Moreover he proves, that the Expedition of the Prince of Orange in England, is not a War on the account of Religion, as the French Emissaries would insinuate, but purely Political, and that the Roman Catholick Religion receives no damage thereby; he maintains also against the Writers of France, that King William III. is not an Usurper of the Crown of England, but that he hath obtained it by most just and lawful means, and is a true and Legitimate King.

And in the Conclusion he vindicates the proceedings of the English Nation in declaring that King James II. had abdicated the Crown, and in advancing the Prince and Princess of Orange to the Throne, and shews that all the Arguments that the French Scribblers alledge against them, are mere Slanders and Calumnies.

T H E
TRUE INTEREST
OF THE
Christian Princes
S I N C E

The Change that happened in *England*, by the Advancement of the PRINCE and PRINCESS of *Orange* to the Throne of that Kingdom, &c.

C H A P. I.

Wherein it is proved that the Union of Princes is their greatest Security, and that ruin will be the inevitable consequence of their Disunion and Divisions.

IT is a Maxim of true Policy that whensoever any Prince is exalted too high, and becomes formidable to his Neighbours, the other Princes ought to enter into League together, to pull him down, or at least to hinder him from growing greater: To prove this truth, it is not necessary to search into the Records of ancient History, since the last Age and this present do furnish us with very considerable Examples. When the Emperor *Charles V.* had gained the Battel of *Pavia* against *Francis I.* and had made that Prince his Prisoner of War; the Pope, *Henry VIII.* King of *England*, the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Florence* and the *Switzers* made a League together, to deliver this captive King, and to hinder *Charles* from seizing on a part of *France*, and afterwards of *Italy*. It is remarkable in the History that the King of *England* acted very generously, with respect to *France*; for although he had before waged War with *Francis I.* who detained *Guienne* and *Normandy* from him, which places the *French* had taken away from his Predecessors, and the Misfortunes of this King gave him a very fair opportunity to recover those two Provinces to which he had a most just and undoubted Right, nevertheless he de-

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sifted from his intended design to prosecute the War with *France*, as soon as he was informed that their King was taken Prisoner; he disbanded his Army that was ready to embark for *Calais*, which was as yet in the Possession of the *English*, without demanding any reimbursement of the charges of his military Preparations, which *France* would have willingly paid, to avoid the renewing of the War; and not being content with this, he sent one of the Lords of his Court to the Queen Regent of *France*, to declare to her, how much he was troubled at the Misfortunes of the King her Son, offering her his Assistance and Supplies of Men and Money to procure his deliverance: In which point, this Prince hath set a fair Copy for all succeeding Princes to transcribe, *viz.* that their general Interest ought to be preferred before their private. In like manner, the Pope and all the other Princes and Estates made this League, not out of any Love that they bore to *France*, whose enemies they were, and against whom they had but a little before been engaged in a War, but they did it for their own Interest: because they and indeed all Christendom began to be jealous of the house of *Austria*. And when *Ferdinand II.* had deprived the Protestant Princes of *Germany* of their Estates, subdued the Imperial Cities, beaten and repulsed the King of *Denmark*, and constrained that Prince to retire into his own Country, and to make a dishonorable and disadvantageous Peace in abandoning his Allies; the other Princes united together, to stop the progress of this Emperors Victorious Army, that consisted of seventy thousand well disciplin'd Men, and commanded by prudent and valiant Generals, without which Union it were to be feared lest they should have overwhelmed all Christendom, and made thereof one universal Monarchy, under subjection to the House of *Austria*.

It is worth the observing, that the House of *Austria* aspired at that time to an universal Monarchy, under colour of extirpating Heresie, that the Catholick Princes might not interpose, nor hinder them from accomplishing their Designs: And this is also the pretence of *France* at this day, who to blind the Catholick Princes and Estates, labour with so much pains and diligence, not only to ruin the Protestants within that Kingdom; but also those under other Jurisdictions, having prevailed with the Duke of *Savoy* to destroy the Protestants of his Country, and furnished this Prince with Troops to root out his own faithful Subjects, that were the Bulwark of his Dominions.

It is well known also that the *French* King hath used his utmost endeavours to cause a division in *Switzerland*, and to arm the Catholicks against the Protestants, to the end that when they are at variance, he might fall upon them, and more easily get them under his Power; but since there are among the Catholick as well as Protestant Cantons some wise and sagacious Persons, who have penetrated into the pernicious designs of *France*, and discovered their Artifices, they have of late more strictly united themselves together than ever, and have taken a firm Resolution mutually to assist one another against any that shall attack them, and to defend their Country, and that of their Allies.

Lewis XIII. King of *France*, and the Cardinal of *Richelieu* his chief Minister of State smelt out the design of the House of *Austria*; and clearly saw that the

the Pretence that they made use of to ruin the Protestants, was only to cast a mist before the eyes of the Catholick Princes, that they might afterwards fall upon them when they had destroyed the Protestants: And although they were good Catholicks, yet they did not forbear to enter into a League with *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, and *Charles I.* King of *England* that were Protestants, and even to reestablish the Protestant Princes in their Estates, that had been dispossessed by a Catholick Prince. *France*, whose grand Interest it was to check the growing greatness of this House, was engaged to furnish the King of *Sweden* with 1800000 *Livers per annum* towards the Expences of the War, and to permit the *French* to go and list themselves in the service of this Prince: *England* sent him seven Thousand men, and maintained them at their own Charges: The King of *Denmark* brought his Allies; neither did the old Enmity between these two Crowns, nor their particular Interests, oblige this King to disturb the Victories, or to oppose the progress that *Gustavus* had made in *Germany*. This Prince looked upon this as a general Good, from whence he might also reap some advantage. *Poland* that was at war with *Sweden*, made a peace with *Gustavus*, that he might be in a condition to relieve the Protestant Princes that were unjustly spoiled, and to humble the House of *Austria*, whose Designs were suspected by them and all Christendom: The *Hollanders* promised to continue the War against *Spain*, to make a diversion, and to hinder them from employing all their Forces to assist the Emperor.

At that time the *French* understood their true Interests: for if they had suffered the total ruin of the Protestant Princes, there would be just grounds to fear lest this Army, that was so strong, and flushed with so many Victories that they had obtained, with so many Places that they had taken, and with so many Provinces that they had subdued, should afterwards fall upon *France*, and lest the Emperor *Ferdinand* should consider them as his principal Enemy, and as the only Power that could be able to cross his grand Designs, and to hinder him from attaining to an universal Monarchy. And *France* being much weakened by the Civil Wars that were but lately composed with the Protestants of *Cevennes* and *Languedoc*, might with good reason be sensible, that this great and victorious Army might one day take their course throughout all *France*, as they have already marched through *Germany*, and might over-spread the greatest part of these Provinces, as the *Germans* have heretofore done under the Conduct of *Pharamond* and his Successors.

Forasmuch as the Christian Princes in times past, have made offensive and defensive Leagues against the House of *Austria*, when they had a mind to advance too far, and to encroach on the other Princes, and they have proved very successful to them, and have turned to their great advantage: it would be requisite at present for the Christian Princes, carefully to observe how *France* aspires to the universal Monarchy of all Christendom; they ought (if they know their true Interest) after the example of their Predecessors, to make the like Leagues, to stop the progress of *France*, to abate their Pride, and to hinder them from treating Princes, and Sovereign Estates so rudely as they do; they ought to be so much the more diligent herein, in regard they see (if they will not altogether shut their eyes) that this hath formerly very much redounded to their profit. For when *Lewis XIV.* in the years 1667. and 1668. had undertaken the Conquest of

the *Spanish Netherlands*: *England*, *Sweden*, and the *United Provinces* having entered into a triple Alliance to oppose his Designs, he desisted from his Enterprize, and quitted those Rights that he then pretended over that Countrey, and made Peace with *Spain*, of which the King of *England* was chosen Guarantee; nay, he also surrendered the *Francbe Comté* of *Bourgogne* which he had usurped; and it is not to be doubted, but if the allyed Princes had insisted (as they ought to have done) that *France* should restore to *Spain* what they had then taken away from that Crown by virtue of their pretended Right of Devolution, they would have done it; rather than be engaged in a War so unadvisedly undertaken, as having to do with so many powerful Enemies, that were so firmly allied and united together. And if afterwards, when the time of the triple League was expired, the Princes had renewed it, the *French* had not adventured as they did in the year 1672. to declare War against the *United Provinces*: For *France* perceiving how much this triple Alliance obstructed her Designs, ever since the term of its duration was ended, made use of all manner of Artifices to break it, and to draw off the King of *England*, neither Gold nor Silver was spared in gratifying those that had an ascendant over him; it is well known what a shameful trade they drove to compass their ends; a beautiful and subtil Lady of *Bretany* was sent over, who so managed the business, that she caused this Prince to abandon his true Interest, and to joyn with *France* to make War jointly against the *United Provinces*, and by that means to undermine a Country, the preservation of which was his highest advantage, and the loss thereof his greatest damage: For if *France* had once made herself Mistress of *Holland*, as there wanted but little, she would not only have disputed with *England*, the Sovereignty of the Sea, but would also have ruined the Trade of that Nation, wherein consists their greatest Riches and Subsistence.

All the Christian Princes know also, that the *French* King having in the year 1672. taken from the *United Provinces* forty or fifty Places; the Emperor, the King of *Denmark*, *Spain*, and the Princes of *Germany*, entering into a League against *France*, obliged him to restore to the *Hollanders* all that which he had taken from them, and to quit all those places, without so much as laying any siege to get them in their possession: And that if after the Prince of Zell had beaten the *French* Army near *Treves*, taken that City, and made the Marshal de *Crequi* Prisoner of War, who after his defeat had put himself therein; and after the Elector of *Brandenburg* had driven the *Suedes* out of *Germany*, and taken *Pomerania* from them, the allied Princes had remained united, there is no doubt but they would have obliged *France* to deliver up to her Neighbors all that she had usurped from them within forty or fifty years, and they would have debased her as much as she hath been since exalted by her Artifices.

CHAP. II.

Wherein it is shewn, that the Peace of Nimueguen hath been the cause of all the Calamities that have since happened in Christendom, by the division of the allied Princes, caused by the Artifices of France.

FRance having considered that she was not able to withstand so many and such puissant Enemies, and that her Armies were not invincible, began, not without reason, to fear lest Fortune should change, and oblige her to surrender more than she had taken, and therefore she thought fit to have recourse to a Peace, which she assiduously pressed to obtain: And the City of *Nimueguen*, which belongs to the States of the United Provinces, being the place appointed for the Treaty; the *French* found means to perswade the *Hollanders* to acquiesce in the Propositions that had been made to them on their part; they offered to deliver up *Maeltrich*, which was the only place they had in possession, of all the great Conquests they had obtained over them, and to restore to *Spain* ten or twelve Places to serve as a boundary between *France* and the *United Provinces*, whose Neighborhood they dreaded; they made the *Hollanders* believe also, that they would yield up all that they had taken from their Allies since the beginning of the War; they assured them, that their King desired nothing so much as Peace, since he so earnestly demanded it; that they ought to be satisfied, since after so many Losses all was restored that had been taken from them, and that after they had made a Peace with *France*, the King would make them Masters of his Interests, and would also make a Peace with their Allies, which should be to every ones content and satisfaction. The King himself sent them a Letter, wherein (after he had violated all the Treaties that he had made with them and those of his Predecessors, and had very generously, without any lawful cause, raised a bloody War) he styles them his good Friends, Allies, and Confederates, to the end that by these soft and deceitful words, and by the fair promises that he made to them by his Embassadors, he might prevail with them to strike up a Peace separately without their Allies. After this, is it not to mock God and men, to say, That he hath given Peace to *Europe*? The reasons that induced the *Hollanders* to make a Peace separately are these; 1. Because they saw that the Embassadors of their Allies had remained three or four Years at *Nimueguen*, without concluding any thing with *France*, and they could no longer sustain the Charges of the War. 2. That their Trade, which is the Riches and main Prop of their Common-Wealth, was interrupted. 3. That they had borrowed great Sums of Money to maintain their Army, and that of the Emperor, and stood in need of some respite. 4. That *Spain*, who had promised to keep forty Thousand Men in Arms for the security of *Flanders*, did not stand to their word, but let several Places be taken without defending them. 5. That every thing was restored to them that had been taken away. 6. That they caused to be delivered up to *Spain* part of what *France* had taken from them during the War. 7. That they promised them to make a Peace with their Allies, and that they should be the Arbitrators thereof. And lastly, they thought that *France*, that shewed so much eagerness in soliciting a Peace, would observe it religiously, and that by these means there would be Peace and Tranquillity in *Europe*, and that

that they might thereby reestablish their decayed Traffick which was almost ruined.

That which obliged the *French* to urge a separate Peace was this, they knew that a Peace could not be made with all the Allies without yielding up to the Duke of *Lorrain* his Country, and to the King of *Spain* the *Franche Comté* of *Bourgogne* and all that had been taken from him since the *Pyrenean Peace*; but in dividing the Allies, they preserved the most part of their Conquests, and compelled the Elector of *Brandenburg* and the Prince of *Zell*, to restore to the *Swedes* all that had been taken from them, since they adhered to the Interests of *France*.

And *France* might very well demand a Peace, not only for the abovesaid reasons, but also because *England* declared for the Allies, and had already caused about six or seven Thousand Men to embark for *Ostend*, for the defence of the *Spanish Netherlands*. Moreover, as soon as the *French* had received the News of the Resolution of *England*, they privately withdrew the Troops and Vessels that they had at *Messina*, and abandoned the *Messinese*, to whom they had promised all manner of assistance and protection, to the mercy of the *Spaniards*. The *French* also saw, that the Elector of *Brandenburg* had driven the *Swedes* out of *Germany*, had taken from them all *Pomerania*, and was become the terror of that warlike Nation, who under the Great *Gustavus* had been formidable to all *Europe*; and there were grounds to fear, lest this victorious Prince should come from *Germany* into *France* the next Campaign, and should carry terror and destruction into their Provinces, and should plunder and pillage therein, after the same manner as the *French* had done in the Territories of this Prince in the year 1663.

The *Hollanders* after they had exhorted their Allies to make a Peace with *France*, on the Conditions that had been proposed, seeing that Affairs were procrastinated and delayed, struck up a Peace with *France* for the abovesaid reasons, which was concluded at *Nimueguen* at the end of the year 1678. A Peace which hath been destructive and unfortunate, and it may well be called so, since it hath been the cause of all the Calamities that have since befallen *Christendom*.

This Peace hath in the first place divided the Allied Princes, and hath sown amongst them the Apple of discord. The Emperor was dissatisfied with the *Hollanders*, because they had made a Peace without him, after he had sent them sufficient Assistance; and fearing lest he should be forsaken by the other Princes, claps up his Peace also without the Elector of *Brandenburg* and the King of *Denmark*, who had taken up Arms against *France* at the Solicitation of his Imperial Majesty: And this hath caused these two Princes to be offended at the Proceedings of the Emperor and the *Hollanders*, and to enter into a League with *France*, which hath been a great prejudice to the other Princes, who dreading to be left destitute, have chosen rather to let *France* take part of their Countries, than to defend them, for fear of losing all.

If the Emperor had not been so hasty in making a Peace, being joyned with *Spain*, the King of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the most part of the other Princes of *Germany*, he would have forced *France* whether she would or no, to submit to a Peace that would have been very advantageous to the Empire and the Allied Princes.

This Peace of *Nimueguen* having thus divided the Allied Princes, and rendred them discontented one with another; *France* hath made good use of their division, and by such Wiles and illusory Promises exceedingly facilitated and promoted her own ambitious Designs.

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If the Allied Princes had not been disunited, but had continued to prosecute the War against *France*, as their Interest required; the *French* could not have been able to engage the *Turks* in a War against *Germany*, since these Infidels did not invade that Country nor besiege the City of *Vienna* but at their Instigation; and on account of the Promises that they had made to them, to attack the Empire on the side of the *Rhine*, to divert their Arms, and to hinder the Princes of the Empire from coming to relieve the Emperor, for they having been heretofore shamefully repulsed, when they made any inroads into *Germany*, would not have ventured on this Enterprize, if *France* had not promised to assist them in this War; which they began before the Truce made with the Emperor was expired, contrary to their Laws and usual Customs; and it is very probable that they would not have broken the Truce, if *France* had not violently urged them to it, and given them hopes of reaping great Advantages from thence. If these Infidels had seen *France* engaged in a War with so many powerful Enemies, against whom she was not able to defend herself, as the case stood when the Peace was concluded at *Nimueguen*, they would have been very cautious how they should make Alliances with a Christian Prince from whom they could expect no Assistance, and one whose Dominions were shut up within those of his Enemies and far distant from their Empire.

Moreover since the division of the Allied Princes, the *French* King hath set up his Court of Dependence in the City of *Metz*, wherein he is both Judge and Party, and hath caused the Princes of the Empire, that border on *Lorain* to be summoned thither, to surrender to him their Possessions in the ancient Kingdom of *Austrasia*, which hath been ruined above an hundred years agoe, and of which *Hugh Capet* whose Successor he is, never was King, and which neither he nor his Predecessors ever claimed, in the Treaties that they made with the Empire: And by Vertue of the Decrees of this Court made by incompetent Judges and without any hearing or defence of the adverse parties, he hath deprived the Princes of *Montbelliard* and *la petite Pierre* of their Countries, the King of *Sweden* of the Duchy of *Deux Ponts*, and the Elector Palatine of three Bailiages, which he never would have attempted if the Princes had not been divided: neither would he have torn from the Empire the City of *Strasburg*, being one of its strongest Bulwarks, which he did a little after the Peace of *Nimueguen*, directly contrary to the Tenor thereof: neither would he have taken the City of *Luxenburg*, being the best fortified place in the *Spanish* Netherlands, which he blocked up in the time of a full Peace.

If the King of *France* had not by his Stratagems divided the Princes at *Nimueguen*, he would have been so far from ruining the *Spanish* Netherlands, as he did in the year 1684. by burning their Villages in the middle of a Peace, destroying their Corn, pillaging their Cattle, and putting their Country under excessive Contributions; that on the contrary (if this Division had not happened) they would have put all *France* in a consternation, laid waste their Champains, made their Provinces desolate, and put them under Contribution, by means of the great Forces that the Allies had then on foot.

The Pope also hath had a share in the Mischiefs and Disturbances that this Peace hath caused in Christendom; for since that was concluded, the *French* King hath taken the *Regalia* from him, which is a Right that his Predecessors have enjoyed for many Ages, and hath been granted to them by the Kings of *France* the Ancestors of *Lewis XIV.* And not being content with this, he hath ravished from

from him his principal Authority, when by the Assembly of his Clergy he caused these Points to be publicly declared; That the Pope was not Infallible; That he had no power over the Temporality of Kings; That he could not absolve their Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance; That he was inferior to Councils; That he could not make any Article of Faith without the Consent of the Church; all which Tenents formerly passed for Articles of Faith in all other Catholick Kingdoms and Estates, and even in the judgment of the most part of the Bishops, Priests, and Religious Persons of *France*: Now, the *French* King never durst have treated the Pope so rudely, if the Allies had remained united, and persisted in carrying on the War against him.

Furthermore, since the Peace of *Nimueguen*, the King of *France* hath taken an occasion gallantly to pick a Quarrel with the *Genoeses*, hath bombarded their City, taken their Vessels without declaring War against them, and compell'd this Republick to send their *Dogue*, as it were, to do him homage, and to humble themselves before him, which they had never done to any other King, and even without offering him any injury or provocation. Lastly, if the Peace of *Nimueguen* had not been made, *France* would not have disturbed the quiet state of *England* and *Holland*, by sowing Divisions and Discord therein, as hath been practised by their Pensioners, who endeavoured to cause these two Nations to destroy themselves, since they were not able to effect it by force; they would then have stood in need of those Sums of Money that they so liberally distributed in this sort of Negotiations, to maintain their Soldiery and to fortifie their Places. Thus we may certainly and truly conclude, that the Peace of *Nimueguen* is the cause of all the Broils and Mischiefs that have since vexed Christendom.

Forasmuch as the division of the Christian Princes is the cause of their Calamities, and their Union tends to their preservation, they ought, if they are wise, and would secure their Dominions for their Posterity, once more to re-unite in a stricter Alliance than ever, and to maintain this Union inviolable, till such time as they shall have humbled *France*, compell'd her to restore what she hath unjustly usurped, and reduced her to such a condition, as it may not be in her power any more to violate the sacred Bond of Treaties: But if they continue in Strife and Discord, it is much to be feared lest she rob them one after another of their Countries, or make them her Vassals or Tributaries. By Union and Concord the smallest matters become great; and by Division and Discord, the greatest fall to ruin. The Christian Princes being thus united together, there is no Power able to destroy them, they will preserve themselves and their Estates against all Princes that shall have a mind to usurp them; they will avoid the falling under the *Ottoman* Yoke, and will constrain the King of *France* to let his Neighbors live in peace.

C H A P. III.

Wherein it is proved that no Treaty of Peace or Truce can be concluded with France, and that it is dangerous to make any.

THE King of *France* is a great and puissant Prince, his Territories are large, rich, and abounding with all things necessary for human Life, and the most populous of all the Kingdoms of Christendom; all its parts are united together,
tho

tho they front two Seas, the Ocean and the Mediterranean: In this Kingdom there are many fair and spacious Provinces, and within them abundance of stately, great and rich Cities. The King would be very happy if he had lived in peace with his Neighbors, and were content to rule his own People, without aspiring to the Dominion of other Nations: But Ambition having taken possession of his heart, the flattering Parasites have not been at much trouble to persuade him, that he hath a Right to the Empire, as the Successor of *Charlemagne*, and his Son to all the Kingdoms and Estates of the King of *Spain*, if he should happen to die without Issue, as Nephew and only Son of the eldest Sister of that Prince; and that by the means of his great Forces, he might put himself in the possession of all his Rights, and seize on the Empire and all the Estates of the King of *Spain*; and being Master of all these vast Dominions, it would be no hard matter for him to vanquish all the other Christian Princes, and to make them his Subjects or Tributaries.

The King of *France* being an ambitious Prince, and his Counsellors having been educated in the School of Cardinal *Mazarine* his chief Minister of State, whose Doctrine it was, that he ought to amuse and deceive Men by Promises and Oaths, that a Prince was not bound by his Word or Treaties any farther than they were serviceable to his Interests and favorable to his Designs; it is no wonder if afterwards his Ministers have followed the Maxims of this Cardinal; for, having flattered their Master with the hopes of being Universal Monarch of Christendom, they continually find great Obstacles in their way, which hinder them from attaining to their great End, and to surmount those Difficulties; there is no Word, nor Promise, nor Treaty, that they do not break and violate. *France* hath made two Treaties of Peace under the Ministry of the said Cardinal, that of *Westphalia* and the *Pyrenian*: Several Princes have complained of the infraction of the first, and the last was no sooner concluded between *France* and *Spain*, but it was violated; all People expected that this Peace made between these two Crowns, by the mediation of their chief Minister of State, and confirmed by the Marriage of the King of *France* with the Infanta of *Spain*, would be of long duration. By the Articles of this Peace *France* was solemnly engaged to abandon *Portugal*, and not to afford them any Aid or Relief directly or indirectly; and the Infanta renounced by her matrimonial Contract to all the Rights of Succession that she might pretend to at present or for the future over the Dominions of the King her Father, without which renunciation *Spain* would never have consented to this Marriage, it being a Law and Custom in that Kingdom, as often as they married the Daughters of *Spain* with the Kings of *France*. This Peace was scarce ratified and published, when *France* sent great Supplies of Men and Money to *Portugal*, under the conduct of the Count *de Schomberg*. And after the death of *Philip IV.* Father of the Infanta, who left a Son that succeeded him in all his Dominions, the King of *France* under colour of a certain pretended right of Devolution prepared a potent Army in the time of a full Peace, entered into the *Spanish* Netherlands, besieged and took several considerable and strong Places, contrary to the Treaty, and even against the Law of Nations; for all this was done without declaring War against *Spain*. It was then clearly demonstrated in a Book entituled *The Buckler of State*, which was never answered, how much *France* was mistaken in her Pretensions. The United Provinces, whose great interest it was, that *Flanders* should remain in the hands of the *Spaniards* their Allies, and that they might not have such potent Neighbors as the *French*, made a triple League with *England* and *Sweden* for the preservation of the *Spanish* Netherlands, which caused a second

Peace to be concluded with *Spain* by the Mediation of the *Hollanders*, with which the *French* being enraged, after the three years of the triple League were expired, they broke all the Treaties they had made with the *Hollanders*, made a League offensive and defensive with *England*, the Arch-Bishop of *Colen*, and the Bishop of *Munster* against them, and with a numerous Army fell upon them as a Torrent, took from them, being divided and destitute of a Head, above forty Places in one Campaign, and brought them to the very brink of destruction: In the mean time *Spain*, the Emperor and the Empire having an apparent interest in the preservation of the United Provinces, thought themselves under an obligation to relieve them against *France*, inasmuch, that by the Supplies they received from their Allies, and the extraordinary Valour of the Prince of *Orange*, they soon recovered all that had been taken from them during the War, except *Maestricht*, which was also surrendered to them by the Peace of *Nimueguen*, whereof mention hath been made in the preceding Chapter. *France* having earnestly sued for that Peace, all the Princes and Estates of *Christendom* believed that they would remain at rest, and would religiously observe the Articles thereof, but it did not last much longer than the former; for immediately after, vast Sums of Money were sent to Count *Teckely*, who having gathered together great Forces, invaded all *Hungary*, and whilst the Emperor was employed in this War, and the Empire relied on the Treaty of Peace, the *French* with a mighty Army besieged and took the City of *Strasburg*, which was an imperial City, and a considerable Bulwark of the Empire; and what is yet more surprizing, the King of *France*, while his Troops were besieging *Strasburg*, by his Embassadors that were at *Vienna* and *Ratisbonne*, protested to the Emperor and the Empire that he intended inviolably to keep the Peace. Moreover, during the War of *Hungary*, and a little after the Peace of *Nimueguen*, he established two Courts of Dependence, one at *Metz*, and the other at *Brissac*; and caused several Princes of the Empire to be summoned to appear before incompetent Judges that were both Judges and Party, and by virtue of the Decrees of these Courts, and by force of Arms, he put himself in possession of the Estates of those Princes, and deprived them of the Principalities which they and their Predecessors had enjoyed for the space of seven or eight hundred Years: Were such Proceedings as these ever heard of in all the preceding Ages? And what is more strange and astonishing, Cities and Towns are besieged, and the Estates of the Princes of the Empire are taken away from them by violence; and yet they would not have this called a breach of the Peace with the Empire. If the *French* had a Right to *Strasburg* and to the Dominions of the Princes of the Empire, whom they have deposed since the Peace of *Nimueguen*, why were they not demanded in so many Treaties that were made with the Emperor and the Empire after the ruin of the Kingdom of *Austrasia*, and after these Princes were possessed of those Places which are now taken from them? Why have they not represented the Justice of their pretensions at *Munster* or at *Nimueguen*, when the two last Treaties of Peace were concluded there? Or why have they not applied themselves to the Imperial Court at *Spire*, that takes cognizance of Matters relating to the Fiefs of the Empire? If the Emperor or any Prince of *Germany* should demand any right of Inheritance in *France*, ought they not to have recourse to the Courts of that Kingdom? There was also an infraction of the Treaty of *Nimueguen*, when the *French* blocked up, and afterwards besieged and took the City of *Luxemburg*, as also the Cities of *Conrath* and *Furnes*, burnt abundance of Towns and Villages of the *Spanish* Netherlands, and put the whole Country under Contribution. Is it not an

Act of Hostility to block up a place with an Army? Now according to all the Treaties of Peace and Truce, all Acts of Hostility ought to cease. Lastly, it is contrary to the Peace of *Nimueguen*, that the *French*, under the pretence of Dependences, have taken away from *Spain* divers Cities, Towns, and Villages of *Flanders*, whereof mention is made in some Books that have sufficiently detected the Injustice of *France* in this matter. The *French* having so many ways violated the Treaty of *Nimueguen*, the United Provinces that had made it, and *England*, that was Guarantee thereof, failed not to make complaints, and were ready to declare War against them, if they had not desisted from their Hostilities: But having considered with themselves that the preservation of *Flanders* was the grand Interest of these two Nations, and that the *Turks* had been beaten before *Vienna*, and had shamefully quitted the Siege of that City, they were fearful of engaging in a fiercer War than the former, and more especially they were afraid of falling out with *England*, whose Power they most dreaded, as being most capable of frustrating their Designs: Therefore, that they might more easily amuse and delude *England*, the United Provinces, the Emperor, and generally all the Christian Princes, they offered to make a Truce for twenty Years, upon condition that *Luxemburg*, and what they had usurped in *Flanders* since the Peace of *Nimueguen* should remain in their hands, except *Courtray* and *Furnes*, which they promised to restore; and the Emperor and the Empire were also to be included in this Truce, provided that *Straisburg* and the other places that were taken in *Germany* since the Peace might be allowed to *France*, which was granted only with a proviso for that time; the Truce was concluded, ratified and published, and all People expected, that at least during the twenty Years it was to last, Christendom would enjoy Peace and Tranquillity, and the grounds of their hopes were these: That no Truce made between Christian Princes was ever yet known to be broken, and the *French* having determined it to twenty Years, none could imagin that they would have the confidence to break it before the end of the Term that they themselves had prescribed: But the Treachery of *France* hath not appeared less in the keeping of the Truce, than it did in the maintaining of the Peace; for when they came to put it in execution, the *French* caused the Fortifications of *Courtray* and *Furnes*, which they were obliged by the Treaty to surrender, to be demolished, which was a beginning of the breach of the Truce; for when it is agreed to deliver up any Place in time of War, it is always to be understood that it is to be left in the same condition as it was when the Treaty was made, unless any exceptions were mentioned to the contrary, which cannot be alledged in this case; and when any thing is granted with a proviso, no other building or reparation ought to be made, but what tends to the maintaining of the Premises in the same state wherein they were granted. But the *French* have made bold to make new Forts and Fortifications in the Countrys that have been conditionally yielded to them, and even in those places that have not been yielded, witness the Fort that they have caused to be built on the other side of the *Rhine* over against *Hunninguen*. All these things are manifest Breaches of the Truce; But we may observe other Violences, the like to which were never heard of before, whilst the Emperor was engaged in a War against the common Enemy of Christendom, and he and all the Princes of the Empire relied on the security of the Truce, when all his Forces were in *Hungary*, or in the Country of the Infidels, and his Places situated on the *Rhine* unprovided with Men and Ammunition, the *French* King sends two great Armies into the Empire; with one under the command

of Monsieur the *Dauphin*, he besieges *Philipsburg*, and with the other he beleaguers, bombards and takes the Cities of the *Palatinate*, pillages and burns the Provinces, puts the Cities and the whole Countrey under Contribution, even against the Articles of their Composition, and commits greater outrages and devastations therein, than the *Turks* did, when in the Year 1683. they entred into *Germany*, and laid siege to the City of *Vienna*. It is observable that the Truce was to last twenty Years, and there were only four past since the beginning; and what is more strange, all this was done without declaring War, which was not only a violation of the Truce, but also of the Law of Nations. The Reasons that the *French King* alledged in his Manifesto are frivolous and ridiculous: First, That the Emperor endeavour'd to make a Peace with the *Turks*, and that afterwards he intended to turn his Arms against *France*: Secondly, That the Prince *Palatine* refused to do Justice in behalf of the Duchess of *Orleans* the Kings Sister in Law; and Thirdly, That the Emperor and the Prince *Palatine* had oppos'd the promotion of the Cardinal of *Furstemberg*, first to the Coadjutorship, and afterwards to the Electorate of *Colen*.

The first of these Reasons is without any Grounds, for when *France* had broken the Truce in the beginning of the Month *October* last, there was as yet no discourse of a Peace with the *Turks*; but supposing the Emperor should have made a Peace with the *Turks*, can it be infer'd from thence that he had a mind to declare War against *France*, or to break the Truce? After the Battel of *St. Godar* where the Infidels were beaten and repuls'd, they made a Truce with the Emperor, but his Imperial Majesty did not thereupon violate the Treaty of *Munster*, nor raise a War against *France*; neither can it be said that he hath broken any Article of the Peace of *Nimueguen* concluded in the Year 1678. nor of the Truce made in the Month of *August* 1684. As for the Differences between the Elector *Palatine* and the Duchess of *Orleans*, that cannot be a pretence sufficient to justify the breach of the Truce; for the Jurisdictions that this Lady laid claim to, were situated in the Empire, and she could not justly demand them any where but at the Imperial Court, as neither ought a Prince of *Germany*, that should pretend to a right in some Duchy, or other Fief belonging to *France*, to do the like, only at the Court of that Kingdom: And in case the Imperial Court had not executed Justice with respect to *Madam of Orleans*, then the King of *France* had a power to complain to the Emperor and the Diet of the Empire, and then upon their refusing to give Satisfaction to this Princess, he had a just cause to proclaim War against the Prince *Palatine*, and not otherwise. As for what relates to the Cardinal of *Furstemberg*, it is matter of Astonishment that *France* should insist on such a pretence to break the Truce; for hath the Emperor given Money to gain the Suffrages of the Canons? or hath he any ways molested or used violence towards them? But on the contrary what Slope hath the King of *France* left unturm'd, to create this Cardinal Arch-Bishop of *Colen*? He hath distributed vast Sums of Money to obtain the Votes of the Canons, he hath severely threatned the City of *Colen*, and the Canons that would not take his Part, and hath furnished him with Troops to make himself Master of the Places of this Electorate. It is the Emperors undoubted Right to establish an Elector at *Colen*, according as he and the Empire shall think fit, and such a person as they can confide in, since the Office of an Elector of the Empire is the most important in that Country. But what Right had the King of *France* to interpose in the choice of an Archbishop of *Colen* and an Elector of the Empire? What would they say of the Emperor if he should go about to dispose of the Arch-Bishoprick of *Paris* or *Rouen*?

Or

Or in case the Canons had a right to nominate these Arch-Bishops, and their nomination should not please the King of *France*, if he should take upon him to confirm them, or to proceed to the election of others? If his Imperial Majesty should on this account break the Peace or the Truce with *France*, all the World would cry out against him, and would say that his Pretence was groundless and unreasonable. The Emperor is a Sovereign Prince of *Coleñ*, and the Elector is his Subject; and as the King of *France* rules within his own Kingdom, in like manner ought the Emperor to govern in the Empire.

The *French* have also broken the Truce with the United Provinces, for in the beginning of the fifth year, they have caused all the Ships of their Subjects that were in the Ports of *France* to be seized, with all their Effects, and what was never heard of before, they have condemned the Pilots and Seamen that were on board these Vessels, to the Gallies, they have detained their Ambassador, whose Liberty could not be procured but by Arresting the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague*, they have taken Prisoners all the *Hollanders* that travelled into *France*, and have burnt several Towns and Villages that belonged to their Estates, and all this was done before they declared War against them. After this sure there are none that do not plainly see the perfidiousness of the *French*, and that it is impossible to make any Treaty of Peace or Truce with them, without being deceived.

There is nothing that ought to be esteemed more sacred and inviolable than Treaties of Peace or Truce, for otherwise Peace would be for ever banished out of the Earth, and nothing would be seen therein, but a perpetual War and Slaughter amongst Men: And so far as *France* hath violated all the Treaties she hath made with her Neighbours within these thirty or forty years; it is the Interest of Christian Princes not to make any more with her for the future, till such time as she shall restore all that she hath taken from the Allies since the Treaty of *Munster* or the *Pyrenean*, and till they have reduced her to such a Condition as it may never be in her Power again to disturb the Peace of Christendom, as she hath done for a long time. The Experience of what hath passed doth clearly demonstrate to all the Christian Princes, that she only makes Treaties to cast a Mist before their eyes, and to take an opportunity to surprize them, as she lately did the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire in the last Autumn. We might here give an account of divers other infractions of the Peace and Truce, but those that have been already produced are sufficient to expose the Treachery of *France*.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Pretensions of France to the universal Monarchy of Christendom, and how their King acts already like an universal Monarch.

THAT the *French* aspire to the universal Monarchy of Christendom, their Pretensions to the Empire, and to all the Kingdoms and Estates of the King of *Spain*, the Treaties they have made and so often violated, their manner of proceeding, and the rude entertainment they afford to all Princes and Estates that do not approve of their Actions, or that will not acquiesce in their determinations, are proofs that are obvious to all the World. Their King pretends a Title to the Empire of *Germany*, as the Successor of *Charles*, who was King of *France*, and enjoyed the

The Empire he and his Successors from Father to Son for the space of an hundred Years; he lays claim also to all the Kingdoms and Estates of *Spain*, in the right of the *Dauphin* his Son, who is Nephew to the present King of *Spain*, and the only Son of his elder Sister: Now if he should become Master of the Empire and of the Territories of the King of *Spain*, which he hopes to effect, either by force or fraud, he would be in possession of two third parts of Christendom, and consequently the other third part must of necessity be forced whether they would or no to submit to his Dominion; for who could be able to oppose so great and formidable a Power? Since having obtained the Empire and all the Kingdoms, &c. of *Spain*, he might promise himself to subdue all the Princes and Estates of *Italy* in one Campaign. *Portugal* being but a corner of *Spain*, and separated by the Ocean from other Countries, could not subsist no not for a moment. The *Switzers* being locked up within *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, and all these Nations being already under the jurisdiction of the *French*, they could not refuse to submit to their Yoke: The *English* being at variance amongst themselves concerning Ecclesiastical Government, some standing up for the *Episcopal*, and others of the *Presbyterian*: *France* would endeavour by her *Emissaries* to raise a Civil War between these two Parties, as she did in *Scotland* in the Reign of *Charles II.* and under colour of assisting the weakest Party, would make herself Mistress of the whole Island. *Holland* seeing *France* in possession of the Empire, of *Flanders*, and of *England*, could not avoid yielding to her power. And the inveterate Enmity that is between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, which *France* hath for a long time fomented, would infallibly cause these two Princes to fall under her Dominion; for by stirring up these Animosities, a War might be easily kindled amongst them, and under pretence of affording relief to one, she might destroy or subjugate the other, and having vanquished one of these Princes, it would be no difficult task to surprize the other. *Poland* being left alone, must of necessity either trundle to *France*, or become tributary to the *Ottoman* Empire. Thus have we seen a draught of the Project that *France* hath contrived to ascend the Throne of the universal Monarchy of Christendom.

The Agents of *France* set all their Engines at work to accomplish this so great and glorious a Design. In the first place they labor with all their might to sow the seeds of Division and Discord amongst the Christian Princes and Estates, as they did at the Peace of *Nimuegue*, and by these means they have made themselves more formidable than ever, and have triumphed over their Enemies, when their Enemies have been ready to triumph over them; neither are they fatigued when they have divided the Christian Princes, but they use their utmost endeavours to stir up Animosities in their Estates; they were very busie at this employment when they kindled a cruel War between the Catholick and Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland* about the Affair of *Glaris*. In the Year 1684. they drew off by their Artifices the City of *Amsterdam* from the other Cities of the Province of *Holland*, that were willing to levy Forces for the preservation of *Luxemburg*, which was one of the Bulwarks of their Common-Wealth; how often have they essayed to disunite the seven Provinces, that they might more easily Lord it over them? But these Court-Caterpillars have been more especially employed in dividing the Princes of *Germany* by private Interest, and in raising and fomenting diabolical Jealousies between the Emperor and them; for the King, by the means of his *Embassadors* or other *Emissaries*, suggested to the Prince, that the Emperor intended to establish an arbitrary and tyrannical Government in *Germany*, and that to prevent it, they ought to hinder him from growing so potent; that the Emperor ought not to entrust the

the Duke of *Lorain* with the Command of his Forces, because if his Imperial Majesty should happen to die, his Son, being under Age, he might be in a condition, being Master of the Armies, to cause himself to be created Emperor, and to tear the Empire from the House of *Austria*. What hath been left undone to divert the Duke of *Bavaria* from the Emperors Interests, or to perswade the Emperor to be jealous of this Prince? Sometimes he offered to grant to him, after the death of the King of *Spain*, all the Country on the other side of the *Pyrenean* Mountains; sometimes to furnish him with a puissant Army, to cause himself to be elected King of the *Romans*, and lastly he proposed to marry Prince *Clement* his Brother with the Duke of *Orleans*'s Daughter, and to give him the Palatinate for her Dowry, the Conquest of which he had lately undertaken. And to induce this Prince to accept of these Conditions, he privately informed him by his Embassies, that the Emperor and the Prince *Palatine* designed, that his Brother Prince *Clement* should take holy Orders, that the House of *Bavaria* might be extinct, for which the Emperor had no kindness, fearing lest they might make a pretension to the Empire; and the Prince *Palatine* hoped that if he should happen to dye without issue, the Electorate of *Bavaria* might fall into his Family. Since then the Princes of *Germany* have had experience of the Artifices of *France*, they ought to stand upon their Guard, and their Interest requires that they remain strictly united, not only amongst themselves, but also with the Emperor and the Allies of the Empire; neither ought they to suffer in their Courts nor in the Diets of the Empire any Ambassador or Agent of *France*, because they are sent to no other end but to deceive and cajole, that they may afterwards surprize them, as it happened to the Inhabitants of *Strasbourg* after the Treaty of *Nimueguen*, whom the *French* Envoy deluded, and was the cause of the loss of that City.

In the second place, the *French* to attain to the Universal Monarchy of Christendom, keep neither Peace nor Truce no longer than they find them to turn to their advantage or interest: Then they cry aloud, that the Peace ought to be preserved, that the Truce ought not to be broken, nor the Tranquillity of Christendom disturbed, but when they have an opportunity to surprize those that rely on the security of these Treaties, they endeavour to oppress and furiously to attack and destroy them with their Armies.

If the *French* had not a design to set upon an universal Monarchy over Christendom, would they have trampled upon Treaties, which have been esteemed in all Ages as things sacred and inviolable, even amongst the most barbarous Nations, and which Infidels do still religiously observe. The *Turks* impute the decay of their Empire to no other cause but the violation of the Truce made between the Emperor *Leopold* and *Mahomet IV.* although there wanted but three or four Months for completing the full time of its duration; and it is also credibly reported, that the Grand Signior broke the Truce at the solicitation of *France*.

In the third place, the *French* aim at the establishing an universal Empire over Christendom, by the means of their great Armies which they maintain even in the time of Peace, to strike a terror into the neighboring Nations, and to fall upon any Prince or State that shall never so little cross their Designs, or oppose their Will and Pleasure, or to seize on those Countries that are not aware of them and confide in the Treaties; after this manner they surprized the City of *Strasbourg* (as is above-mentioned) that relied on the Treaty of Peace made at *Nimueguen*; thus also have they deceived the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire, which they invaded in the beginning of *October* last, who trusted to, and were amused by the Treaty: Whereas the *French* to

earnestly

earnestly desired a Peace at *Nimueguen*, and were compelled to sue for it, by reason that their Affairs began to decline; it was the Interest of the Princes at that time to oblige them to disband their Forces as soon as it was published, otherwise they ought to have re-united, and to have prosecuted the War more vigorously than ever against them. If they had forced them to this, as Justice required, they would not have been able to offer so many Injuries as they have since done to the Christian Princes; they would then have been in a condition rather to submit to Laws that might have been imposed on them, than to give any to others.

Forasmuch as one chief design of *France* is to divide the Christian Princes, it is their Interest, and it behoves them not to hearken to the Propositions of Peace offered by any of her Ministers, nor to agree upon any Place to assemble in order to discouraging or treating thereof, till they have for a beginning restored all that they have unjustly usurped from their Neighbours, since the *Pyrenean Treaty*. Experience and the fresh remembrance of the late Occurrences may be sufficient to convince them, if they will but open their Eyes, that *France* never talks so much of Peace, as when she intends a most furious War, and that her Conferences tend only to amuse and delude those Estates that are engaged in a War against her, or to disunite them by her Stratagems; as was practised at *Nimueguen*.

The King of *France* doth not only aspire to the Universal Monarchy of Christendom, but he hath already acted like an Universal Emperor, since he treats other Christian Princes and Estates as if they were his Subjects, he imposes Laws on them, even in their own Dominions, and requires all to submit to his Will; otherwise he threatens to denounce War against them, or to raise other disturbances; he doth not spare the Pope himself, though he calls himself the eldest Son of the Church; for he is not content only to control his Power in his own Kingdom, by taking from him the *Regalia*, and by depriving him of the Authority, that he and his Predecessors had enjoyed for many Ages as well in *France* as in other Countries, that make Profession of the *Roman* Catholick Religion: But he hath thought fit also to confront him even in *Rome*; for he hath opposed his Bull, concerning the Franchises of the Embassadors Quarters, and sent the Marquess de *Lavardin* to *Rome* with a Train of five hundred Men for the most part Officers; who hath made himself Master of one quarter of the City, and hath taken upon him to countermand the Popes Authority, and obstinately to resist his Decrees and Orders. And because the Court of *Rome* was not willing to submit to the pleasure of *France*, in promoting the Cardinal of *Fursenberg* to the Electorate of *Colen*, the King without declaring War against the Pope, dispatched his Troops to *Avignon*, who have taken Possession of that City and its dependencies, though it belongs to the Church by an unquestionable Right, and hath given Orders to the Commanders of his Gallies to seize on all the Vessels they shall meet with, that appertain to the Ecclesiastical Estate. If the *French* treat the Pope after this manner, if they thus presume to violate the Law of Nations, and to take away the Goods of the Church, what may the other Princes and Estates of Christendom expect?

What Indignities are there that he hath not offered to the Emperor, after he had drawn off the *Hollanders* from their Allies, and had persuaded them by his wiles to make a separate Peace? He hath prescribed to him the Articles of Peace, and his Imperial Majesty must of necessity either yield to the demands of *France*, or resolve to renew the War: Hath he not imposed Laws on the Emperor, inasmuch as he hath constrained him to grant that which he had usurped from the Empire, contrary to the Articles of Peace? And his Imperial Majesty hath been forced to acquiesce,

efce, that he might not at the same time be engaged in a War against *France* and the Infidels.

Hath he not also treated the Princes of *Germany* after the same manner? He hath caused them to be summoned, not before a Court of the Empire, to demand their Countries or part of them; but before a Court that he hath set up at *Metz*, or *Brisac*, where *France* is both Judge and Party, and hath deprived them of their Estates, they not daring to defend them. The Imperial City of *Strasbourg* was besieged in the time of a full Peace, and compelled to accept of his Conditions, and to submit to his Dominion and Power. Is not this to manage the Princes of the Empire as his own Subjects, to summon them to appear before Courts erected by himself, to demand Fiefs situated in the Empire and depending thereon?

And when *Spain* would not comply to do every thing that *France* required, they were immediately threatened with War, and for fear of breaking the Peace, they patiently suffered divers Cities, Towns and Villages in *Flanders* to be taken from them, and durst not so much as attempt to defend them. Hath not the *French* King dealt with the King of *Spain* as his Vassal? For when his Catholick Majesty had a mind to bestow *Flanders* on the Elector of *Bavaria*, in consideration of the Marriage of that Prince with the Arch-Duchess of *Austria* his Niece; he opposed it, and hindered him from disposing of a part of his own Dominions, and even of the Government thereof; for he sent word to the King of *Spain* and his Council, that if he only gave the Government of *Flanders* to the Elector of *Bavaria*, he would take this to be an infraction of the Truce; and *Spain* to avoid a War that might ensue, yielded Obedience to this Law of *France*, and submitted to their Pleasure: It is true indeed, that to save their Honour, they returned Answer to the *French* Ambassador, that they never so much as thought of giving *Flanders*, nor the Government thereof to the Duke of *Bavaria*.

The *Genoefes* were for above a Hundred and Forty Years under the Protection of *Spain*; but the King of *France* had a mind that they should renounce their Alliance with this Crown, and should withdraw themselves from their Protection; and upon their refusal, he very generously picks a Quarrel with them; the History whereof deserves to be transmitted to Posterity. He commanded them as if they had been his own Subjects, to re-establish the *Marquess de Fiesque*, in the Possession of his Goods and Dignities, whose Predecessor had been Condemned, and his Goods Confiscated (as the *Genoefes* report) for having designed to betray his Country into the Hands of their Enemies; and because they desired to be excused in a Matter so contrary to their Laws and Liberties, he sent a Naval Army against them, that bombarded their City, and took all the Vessels of this Republick that they could find on the Sea: Neither could they by any means appease *France*, nor make their Peace, till they had submitted to all that they were pleased to order; which was, that their *Dague*, and Four of their principal Senators should come and humble themselves before the King, and beg his Pardon for having incurred his displeasure. Can any Subjects be worse handled than *France* hath treated the *Genoefes*, and this too without any just cause or provocation given by them?

The *French* are not satisfied with imposing Laws on the Christian Princes, and subjugating them to their Pleasure, but they would also dispose of their Marriages; for the Prince de *Carignan* of the House of *Savoy*, who is no Subject of *France*, having Married the Princess of *Modena*; the King had a Mind to disannul the Marriage, because it was contracted without his Knowledge and Consent; and the Duke of *Savoy* was obliged to desire his Cousin to depart out of his Dominions, that he might avoid the Indignation of the King of *France*.

If *France* makes any considerable Military Preparations by Sea, or Land, or enters into Leagues and Alliances with other Princes, they would not have their Neighbours offended at it; but if their Neighbours begin to take up Arms, or to make any League for their defence and security, they immediately oppose them, and complain that they intend to break the Peace or Truce. Is there any thing more just and natural, than that the several parts of a State should Unite together for their common preservation? On this account the Princes, and Estates of the Empire enter'd into mutual Leagues one with another, in the Year 1686. But how much Noise and Dust did the *French* King raise against them? He complain'd thereof to the Pope, to the Emperor, and the Diet of the Empire; and would have had it pass for an Attempt against the Truce. If any dispute ariseth concerning the Choice, or Confirmation of an Elector of the Empire, he is ready to Interpose; but he would not have the Emperor, nor the Princes of the Empire, nor their Allies to meddle with it; if they do, he accuseth them of breaking the Truce. Forasmuch as these are the violent agitations, and such is the Conduct of *France*, I leave it to the Judgment of all reasonable Persons, whether their design be not to set up an Universal Monarchy; and whether their King hath not already acted like an Universal Monarch of Christendom. Therefore it is the Apparent Interest of the Christian Princes to pull down *France* after such a manner, as she may not be able any longer to quarrel with, nor insult over her Neighbours; for if they tamely suffer all these Insolencies, it is not to be doubted, but in process of Time, she will deprive them of all their Dominions and Estates, and make them her Subjects, and at last the Scorn and Derision of all the World.

CHAP. V.

Of the pretensions of the King of France to the Empire of Germany.

THE King of *France* lays claim to the Empire, as he styles himself the Successor of *Charlemagne*, who was both Emperor and King of *France*, and who with his Posterity possessed the Empire for the space of about an hundred Years: By virtue of this pretended Right, he hath formerly, and still continues to use his utmost endeavours, and employs all the Subtilty and Craft of his Agents and Pensioners to attain his ends, he hath long since given evident proofs of these his Pretensions, to all Christendom.

I. After the death of *Ferdinand III.* he sent his Ambassadors to all the Courts of the Electors, with rich Presents and fair Promises to procure their Suffrages; and these Ambassadors failed not to make use of all their Eloquence and Artifices to obtain the Empire for their Master, to the prejudice of the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, who notwithstanding carried it away from the King of *France*, by the unanimous Votes of all the Electors.

II. He hath employed certain mercenary Scriblers, who have written Books to demonstrate the Right of the King of *France* to the Empire, to the end that when he shall find a favorable opportunity to make himself Master thereof, the other Princes might not be surprized, nor offer any resistance.

III. He hath set all Engins at work, and applied all the cunning and subtilty of his Pensioners and Emisaries to divide the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire, and to engage them in a Civil War against one another, that whilst they were at variance, he might take an occasion to enter into the Empire without opposition, and under colour

colour of assisting the weaker Party, might subdue the stronger, and by the same means seize on the Empire.

IV. He fomented the War in *Hungary* between the Emperor and the Protestants, and hath assisted Count *Teckeley* and his Party with Men and Money, who with the help of very considerable Supplies, which he received by the means of constant returns of vast Sums from *France*, seized on almost all *Hungary*, and caused himself to be proclaimed King, with the consent of the *Port*; and 'tis said also, with the approbation of *France*, who promised him all manner of aid and assistance.

V. He earnestly solicited the Grand Signior by his Ambassador, to make a War against the Emperor, with a promise to send a potent Army to march along the *Rhine*, to attack the Empire that way, and to hinder the Princes of *Germany* that were on that side from coming to relieve the Emperor; and thus the Grand Visier entering through *Hungary* into the Empire, might easily take the City of *Vienna*, and make a great progress in *Germany*. By this Conduct it appears that there was a secret League between the King of *France* and the Grand Signior, which is evident from these particulars: 1. By reason of the great Army that he caused to be encamped on the *Farre*, by which he kept in awe all the Princes and Circles of the *Rhine*, and detained them from affording the Emperor any Succours, and from sending any Troops to compel the Turks to raise the Siege of *Vienna*. 2. Because the News of what passed at the Siege of *Vienna* was sooner known at the Court of *France* than at that of the Emperor. 3. In regard that after *Vienna* was relieved by the King of *Poland* and the Forces of the Empire, and the Turks forced shamefully to quit the Siege, all the Christian Princes made Bon-fires in token of Joy, except the *French*; who discovered by their Carriage, that they kept a private Correspondence with these Infidels. 4. The King of *France* shewed much displeasure against the King of *Poland*, because he went to relieve *Vienna*; and would not be reconciled with that Prince, till he had drawn him off from the Emperor's Interests, and engaged him not to act any longer against the *Turks*. However it be, it hath been observed that the King of *Poland* hath ever since that time been very indifferent, and remiss in his proceedings; for if he had had a mind to pursue the *Turks*, especially since their Empire began to decline, he might have re-taken *Caminiee*, and at least have gained as much or more Ground of those Infidels in *Moldavia*, as the Emperor hath in *Hungary*; by reason that his frequent Victories had rendered his very Name terrible to them.

VI. It is not to be doubted but the *French* King kept his Army encamped near the *Rhine*, to favour the *Turks* in taking of *Vienna*; but this was not the only prospect he had; he thought that after *Vienna* was taken, these Infidels would push on their Conquests farther, and would carry with them a Dread and Terror throughout the whole Empire; insomuch that the *Germans* for fear of falling under their Dominion, would voluntarily offer him the Empire; and that which gives light to this Design, is, That during the Siege of *Vienna*, and whilst the *Turks* committed such horrible Devastations in *Austria*, the Ambassadors and Pensioners of *France*, that resided at the Courts of the Electors and Princes of the Empire, said and proclaimed aloud, that the Emperor was not able to defend the Empire; that his Shoulders were not strong enough to bear so great a Weight; that the King of *France* ought to be made Emperor, and that by less than this the Empire could not be preserved, nor supported from falling into the Hands of the Enemies of Christianity.

VII. The King of *France* hath made appear his pretensions to the Empire, in causing Money to be Coined not long since, whereon were stamped two Eagles, being the

Arms of the Empire over his Effigies, and he then publicly declared that the Empire had remained long enough in the *Austrian* Family, and that he would have it to return into his.

VII. The War of the *Turks*, and the Siege of *Vienna* not having succeeded according to the expectations of *France*, but altogether contrary to their hopes, the King hath found out another way more proper and more certain, to snatch the Empire out of the Hands of the House of *Austria*; and that is, to cause the greatest part of the Electors to be at his Devotion, and to be assured of their Suffrages. To this end he saw that the Elector of *Colen* was very Old, and that it was necessary to give him a Coadjutor that might succeed him; and he could not pitch upon a Person more addicted to his Interests, than the Cardinal of *Furstemberg*, who was a Creature of *France*, and a sworn Enemy to the House of *Austria*: It was well known also, that this Cardinal was of a turbulent and daring Spirit, and if he were once admitted into the College of Electors, would remove Heaven and Earth as it were, to make the King of *France* Emperor, or his Son King of the *Romans*, which is the Degree by which they infallibly ascend to the Empire. That by this means *France* would be Mistress of the lower *Rhine*, and would hinder the *Hollanders* from being able to afford the Empire, or the Princes of the Empire any relief; and in like manner the Empire from assisting the *Hollanders*, or the *Spanish Netherlands*, in case the *French* should think fit to make that Country the Seat of the War. That all the upper *Rhine* was already under the Power of *France*: And that the King having the Elector of *Colen* at his beck, the Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers* could not refuse to give their Votes for him, because their Territories were bridled, and as it were locked up within the Dominions that are possessed by the *French* in *Germany*; and to avoid the loss of their Countries, they would be willing to grant to *France* all that should be demanded of them. Moreover by virtue of the pretensions of the Duchess of *Orleans* to the Palatinate, the King of *France* designed to deprive the Prince *Palatine* of his Dominions, as hath been done, and to Marry the Daughter of that Prince to a Prince of the Empire, and to give him the Palatinate in Marriage; and by this means to make sure the Suffrage of a Secular Elector; which being joined to that of the three Ecclesiastical Electors, might cause the Empire to fall into the House of *France*. It is affirmed also that the King, since he hath seized on the Palatinate, hath offer'd Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, to induce him to desist from his Pretensions to the Electorate of *Colen*; to Marry him with his Niece of *Orleans*, and to give him the Palatinate, as her Dowry.

The Arguments that the *French* Writers alledge to prove that their King *Lewis XIV.* hath a Right to the Empire, as the Successor of *Charlemagne* are weak and without Grounds: For by the true History of *France* we are informed, that neither this King nor his Predecessors are descended from *Charlemagne*, but from *Hugh Capet*, who was only a Chief Minister of State, and had no Right to the Crown, even according to the opinion of the Historiographers of *France*: And therefore if the Successors of *Charlemagne* had any Right to the Empire, it would be the Posterity of *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, and not that of *Hugh Capet*. But as it cannot be denied, but that *Lewis XIV.* is the lawful King of *France*; though he be the Successor of and descended from *Hugh Capet*, an Usurper of the Crown, since the States of the Kingdom have allowed him to be so, and the People have acknowledged his Successors as their Legitimate Princes; so in like manner after the *Germans* had shaken off the Yoke of the Kings of *France*, and made Emperors of their own Nation; it is not to be doubted but *Ono I.* whom the States

of the Empire elected for their Emperor; and they that succeeded him in this Dignity, were lawful Emperors. The Office or Dignity of the Emperor being Elctive, and not Successive, nor Hereditary, none can justly possess it, but he that is called thereunto by the Suffrages of the Electors: Now the House of *Austria* being the most Noble and Potent in *Germany*, the Electors have not without reason for above Two Hundred Years taken their Emperors out of that most illustrious Family, as being best able to maintain the Glory and Grandeur of the Empire.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Pretensions of France to the Kingdoms and Dominions of the King of Spain, and the Reasons on which they are grounded.

That *France* pretends a Title also to all the Kingdoms and Dominions of the King of *Spain*, cannot be doubted, since the *Dauphin* is his sole Nephew, and the only Son of his Elder Sister. Now whereas it is known to all the Princes of *Europe*, that the Kingdom of *Spain* escheats to the Female Sex, and that Women succeed to that Crown for default of Male Heirs; for by this means the Kingdom of *Spain* came into the House of *Austria*, viz. by the Marriage of *Joan* the Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*; and by the same means the Seventeen Provinces of the Low-Countries entred into this Family, by the Marriage of *Mary* of *Bourgogne* with *Maximilian* Arch-Duke of *Austria*; the *Dauphin* of *France* succeeding to all the Rights of the Queen his Mother by the right of Representation, as the Lawyers term it, would without doubt (if the King of *Spain* his Uncle should happen to dye without Children) be the true, only and lawful Successor to all his Kingdoms, Estates, &c. And this Prince having been once Married without having Children, *France* presumes, by reason of the weakness and indisposition of his Body, that he never will have any; tho he should have recourse to a Second Marriage.

But it may be objected against this Succession, That the King of *France* his Father, and the Infanta of *Spain* his Mother, have renounced by their Matrimonial Contract, all the Rights, Claims, and Pretensions that they might have at present, or for the future to the Kingdoms and Estates of the King of *Spain*; and that therefore he is excluded from them by this Renunciation. But the *Dauphin* replies to this, 1. That this Renunciation was forced, to cause the Marriage between the King his Father, and the Queen his Mother; and that by the Civil Law, which is observed as well in *France* as in *Spain*, any Person is discharged from such like Renunciations, and re-established in all his Rights, when there happens to be a *Magna Cæsis*, as there is in this Case. 2. That the King his Father, and the Queen his Mother had no power to do any thing to his disadvantage. 3. That the Queen his Mother was under Age when she made this Renunciation. 4. That this Renunciation is contrary to the Laws of *Spain*, that require without any exception or limitation whatsoever, that the Daughters and their Children should succeed to the Crown, for default of Heirs Male; and that the Eldest Daughter and her Children that represent her, should be preferred before the Younger and her Children. 5. That the King his Father did not hold himself obliged by this Renunciation, since after the Death of *Philip IV.* the Queens Father, he took upon him notwithstanding to demand, by virtue of a Right of Devolution, divers Provinces in the Low-Countries, mentioned in a Book entituled, *The Rights of the Queen of France*, &c. Lastly the *Dauphin* would make answer, that the King his Father hath

further

ther declared in the Year 1685. that he would not yield to be bound by this Renunciation, nor to suffer his Son to be excluded by this means from that Succession: For upon the report that was spread abroad, that the King of *Spain*, in consideration of the Marriage between the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Arch-Duchess the Emperors Eldest Daughter, and his Catholick Majesties younger Sister, intended to make over the *Spanish Netherlands*, to that Prince; the King of *France* immediately dispatch'd a Courier on purpose to the *Marquis de Fequieres* his Ambassador in *Spain* (as hath been above related) to give notice to the King of *Spain*, and his Counsellors; that if he should grant *Flanders* to that Elector, or only give him the Government thereof, he would break the Truce, and declare War against him; he added moreover, that it was a Prejudice to the Rights of the *Dauphin* his Son; and caused the same thing to be signified to the Estates General of the *United Provinces*, by the Count d'Avaux his Ambassador at the *Hague*. After this can there remain the least doubt, whether the *French* pretend to all the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, and whether after the Death of that Prince, they design to use all possible means to get them in their possession? Before we proceed to discourse of the Interest incumbent on all the Princes and Estates of Christendom, to oppose those Pretensions that *France* makes to the Empire, and to the Kingdom and Estates of the King of *Spain*, it is necessary to make some reflections on the Measures, that the King of *France* takes to attain to the Empire, and to settle the Succession of the *Dauphin* his Son, to all the Estates of his Catholick Majesty, and to discover the Wiles and Artifices that his Ministers and Agents make use of to succeed therein.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Means that the King of France makes use of to obtain the Empire, and to settle the Dauphin in his pretended Succession to the Dominions of the King of Spain.

THE King of *France* did not believe, that the King of *Spain* his Brother-in-Law, being of a tender and weak Constitution, would have lived so long as he hath; and therefore pretending that his Son is the true and only Successor of this Prince, for the Reasons above-mentioned in the preceding Chapter, he hath made use of divers means to secure this Succession for him. For, 1. He hath given the King of *Spain* a French Lady to Wife, his Niece; and consequently a Person altogether devoted to his Interests; to the end, that when he should happen to dye, she might raise a Party in *Spain*, with the Ambassadors and Pensioners of *France*, to send for the *Dauphin*, and to set him on the Throne of *Spain*. 2. The King of *France* always maintains even in the time of Peace, two great Armies; one to defend the Frontiers, and to hinder the *Germans* from entering into his Territories, and the other to invade *Spain*; which he thinks very easie to be done, by reason that the *Spaniards* have no considerable Forces, and that they can have no Assistance only from the *Portugueses*; with whom *France* is engaged in a strict Alliance, and also because he hath a strong Party on his side even in *Spain* it self. 3. To prevent the Emperor from being able to send relief to *Spain*, the *French* have taken possession of the upper *Rhine*, and have caused abundance of Fortresses to be Built on that side, to defend their new Conquests against the *Germans*, that they may not enter therein, and make any diversion to their Arms. 4. To the same end they have instigated the *Turks*, to carry Fire and Sword into the Empire; for they foresaw that by a long and bloody War, the Emperor would be weakened, his Treasures

tures Exhausted, and his Country Depopulated; and that if the King of *Spain* should happen to dye without Children whilst his Imperial Majesty was involved in this War, he would not be in a Condition to afford any Succours to *Spain*, nor to hinder the *Dauphin* from entering on his pretended Succession. 5. On this account the *French* King hath so generously pick'd a Quarrel with the *Genoefes*, bombarded their City, and taken their Vessels without any just cause, and without declaring War against them; and afterwards obliged them to come to him to make excuses, and to beg his Pardon; for by this rude Entertainment he designed not only to affright the *Genoefes*, but also to terrifie all the Princes and Estates of *Italy*, and to keep them off from giving any aid to *Spain* against *France*, in case his Catholick Majesty should die suddenly without Issue. 6. To this very purpose he hath also bought *Catal* and *Montferrat* of the Duke of *Mantua*, to hold the Duke of *Savoy* firm to his Interests, whose Dominions are shut up between *France* and *Montferrat*, and to over-awe all the Princes of *Italy*; *France* having by this means opened a Passage into all their Territories. 7. It is to facilitate this Succession, that the *French* Agents take so much pains to divide *England*, by animating and stirring up the Episcopal Party against the Presbyterian, and the Presbyterian against the Episcopal as they practised in the time of *Charles I.* and *Charles II.* in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was the occasion of the War that then broke out; and have lately urged King *James II.* to establish the Publick Exercise of the *Roman* Catholick Religion within all his Dominions, and to deprive his Subjects of their Liberties and Priviledges, that they might raise a Civil War, as they did under the Reign of King *Charles I.* when the *French* Ambassador pretending to allay the Fury and Heat of the War, that was kindled by his Emissaries, laboured with all his might to augment it, and to enflame it to such a Height, that it could not be extinguished in a long time.

This Ambassador also after his return into *France*, Boasted that in Prosecution of his Majesties Orders he had lighted a Fire in *England*, that would not be quenched in a long time; and that for Twenty Years the *English* would not be in a condition to demand any thing of *France*. And this Civil War that had almost destroyed this Country, and caused so great Convulsions therein, had its first Original from those Heats and Animosities that were raised, and afterwards improved between the Episcopal Party and Presbyterian; for that unfortunate King *Charles I.* was easily persuaded to order the Establishing of one general exterior Conformity of Divine Service throughout all the three Kingdoms, which was a Design that seemed to be most just and reasonable; and nevertheless it proved the occasion of his ruin. This ought to have been a sufficient warning to the Late King *James II.* to have managed his Affairs as to the matter of Religion more prudently than he hath done; and this without doubt was the cause of his fall, as we shall make it appear hereafter. Religion indeed is a very nice and tender Point, and a pretence that discontented and turbulent Spirits do usually make use of to excite Civil Wars, and to disturb the Peace of Kingdoms and Estates.

The King of *France* hath been long ago sensible that *England* is a great Obstacle in his way, and stops his Progress in advancing towards the Universal Monarchy of Christendom, and that it is their apparent Interest not to permit the Estates of the King of *Spain* to fall into the Hands of the *French*, since the *English* might with good reason be jealous of so Predominant a Power; therefore he hath used his utmost endeavours to preserve an amicable Correspondence and Alliance with the King of *England*; but in regard this is not sufficient, because Interest is often more prevalent amongst

amongst Princes than their mutual Leagues and Friendship, as daily experience plainly shews, the *French* have esteemed it the surest way to foment divisions amongst the *English* People, that they may not be able to thwart their Designs, nor oppose their Pretensions to *Spain* and the Empire. 8. To establish this Succession, *France* spares nothing that may tend to the promoting of discord and dissensions in the *United Provinces* that are the Allies and principal support of *Spain*, as well by reason of the interest that they have in the Preservation of *Flanders*, that serves them instead of a Bulwark (as we have before observed) as on account of the great Traffick and Commerce that they maintain with the Estates of the King of *Spain*. The *French* take this course to the end that these Provinces being at variance amongst themselves, may not be in a Capacity to assist *Spain*; nor to hinder the *Dauphin* from obtaining that Crown; by this means they diverted them from sending supplies to *Luxemburg* in the Year 1684. which being the most considerable place of all *Flanders*, the Preservation of it was most advantageous to the *Hollanders*, and the loss thereof a very great damage.

Forasmuch as these Provinces cannot subsist without a mutual Union and Concord between the Heads and the Members that compose this Body; it is evident that their Discord and Animosities have given their Enemies such advantages over them, that they have two or three times reduced them to the last extremity, and brought them to the very brink of Destruction. Their divisions, the Seeds whereof the King of *France* had procured to be sown amongst them, before he openly declared War, were the cause of the loss of many Cities and Towns, and of two or three Provinces. And whereas it is well known, that the Subjects of the *United Provinces* have always been very jealous of their Liberty; the Emissaries and Mercenary Scriblers of *France*, do continually make it their business to insinuate into the Minds of the Magistrates and People, that the Princes of *Orange*, who are the Pillars of these Estates, intended to set up for Sovereigns, and to exercise an Arbitrary Power over them, designing by these false Suggestions and notorious Impostures, to pull down these great and mighty Supporters of their Country, that so they might destroy their whole Commonwealth, which never defended it self, nor made any considerable Figure in the World, but by the Valour, Fidelity and prudent Conduct of the Princes of this Family.

9. Lastly, it is by way of preparation to this Succession, that the King of *France* from time to time makes new demands to the *Spaniards*, and compels them, by the Havock and Devastations that he commits in their Country, without declaring War against them, to grant what he hath a Mind to; to the end, that after the Decease of their King, they may not oppose the Succession of the *Dauphin*, but may readily comply (as they have formerly done) with whatsoever he shall require of them. And the *Spaniards* being accustomed to give the King of *France* what he thinks fit to demand of them, and to yield to him what he takes from them, and not seeing, when the Death of their King shall happen, any Power strong enough to preserve them from falling under the Dominion of *France*: The Emperor being at a distance, or engaged elsewhere, and not in a condition to relieve them; there is no doubt, if the Christian Princes do not in time prevent it, but the *Spaniards* will be forced to submit to the insupportable Yoke of the *French*. And altho the Queen of *Spain* died this Year, nevertheless the *French* do not lay aside their hopes of the Succession, because they believe the defect to be rather in the King, than the Queen; that they have had no Children by their Marriage.

The King of *France* having two Prospects, one towards the Empire, and the other towards *Spain*, is always upon the Watch to take an occasion to accomplish his designs;

designs: if the King of *Spain* should happen to die without Issue, before he hath made himself Master of the Empire, he will send all his Forces that way, but if during the Life of his Catholick Majesty, a favourable opportunity should be offered to invade the Empire, he will not fail to take hold of it; insomuch that he endeavours equally to weaken these two Powers, and to take from them all the Means of receiving any aid or relief from their Neighbours: He thought already to have had the Empire in his possession, when the Grand Visier came in the Year 1683. to besiege the City of *Vienna* with a numerous and terrible Army; he saw that the Emperor was not able with all his Forces to defend *Hungary*, against Count *Teckelej*, who had often beaten and routed them; and he hoped that his Imperial Majesty being thus oppressed, and having to do with two so formidable Enemies, would sink under the weight of his Misfortunes; for if he could not make Head against the Weaker, how could he withstand them both? And thus he expected (as we have elsewhere declared) that the *Germans* perceiving the Empire ready to fall into the Hands of the Infidels, would be forced to come and entreat him to accept of it, to avoid submitting to the *Ottoman* Yoke and Dominion.

The King of *France* thought also that he had obtained another fair opportunity to invade the Empire, he had seized on all the Places of the Jurisdiction of *Colen*, under colour of assisting the Cardinal of *Furstemburg* in his promotion to that Electorate; he saw that the *Hollanders* were setting out a great Fleet, and judged not amiss that all these Preparations were made for *England*; insomuch that the Count *d'Avaux* his Ambassador, declared it at a Publick Audience he had of the States General in the Month of *September*, 1688. and the Letter written to the Cardinal *d'Estrees* at *Rome*, by the King, dated the sixth day of the said Month; makes it appear that *France* was informed of the Design of the Prince of *Orange*, to pass over into *England*, and that the United Provinces had lent him their Forces. And therefore he presumed also that a violent Combustion was ready to be kindled in *England*, that would be of long continuance; and that the Prince of *Orange* being engaged therein, if he should happen to be beaten, would be obliged to return into *Holland* with the remainder of his Army; and *Holland* would be constrained to maintain a perpetual War with *James II.* King of *England*, and that these two Estates being thus embroiled, the *French* could not be molested, or diverted by them in their Attempts to subdue the Empire. Besides this the King knew that the Peace between the Emperor and the *Turks* was not concluded, that the King of *Poland* was brought over to his Interests: That the King of *Sweden*, since he durst not give any Aid to the Duke of *Holstein* his Uncle against the King of *Denmark*, much less would adventure to assist the Emperor against the *French*, who would always excite the *Danes* against him whensoever he should attempt it: That the *Switzers* were bridled by *Alsatia*, and the Fortrefs of *Hunenguen*, and the Princes of *Italy* by *Monferrat*; and thus the Emperor being attacked by all the Forces of *France*, whilst his Arms were employed in *Hungary*, they might in a little time take possession of the *Palatinate*, of *Philipsburg*, and even of the Electorates of *Mentz* and *Triers*, and might make sure of that of *Colen*, whereupon these Electors, to be re-established in their Dominions, would be constrained to create the King of *France* Emperor, or to choose the Dauphin his Son King of the *Romans*: And had not the late change happened in *England*, it is certain that the *French*, who in less than three Months had gained the whole *Palatinate*, the Electorate of *Mentz*, and all the considerable Places belonging to that of *Colen*, would have also obliged the Elector of *Triers* to submit to their pleasure, or he would be in danger of being deprived of

his Territories and Jurisdctions, after the same manner as the Elector *Palatine*; and in another Campaign, they might hope with the assistance of the *Turks*, who like an impetuous Torrent would fall into *Hungary*, to compel all the Princes and Estates of the Empire to yield to their Forces, and the Emperor to surrender the Empire to their King; but this Revolution in *England* hath broken all their measures, and frustrated their Grand Designs; insomuch that they have been forced to withdraw a great part of their Troops that they maintained in *Germany*, to Guard their own Frontiers, and to hinder the *English* or *Hollanders* from seizing on some Port, whereby they might enter, the next Spring into *France*: And this hath preserved the Cities of *Colen* and *Frankfort* from falling into the Hands of the *French*, and the Emperor from being dispossessed of the Empire by the King of *France*.

Whilst the *French* were making great preparations to invade the Empire or the Estates of the King of *Spain*, they endeavoured to stupify the Christian Princes by the means of the Truce of twenty years that they made with *Spain*, the Emperor and *Holland*; they knew that the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the Estates of the United Provinces were religious Observers of Treaties of Peace or Truce; and therefore being very well assured, that during the twenty years that this Truce was to last, they should not be molested by them; they resolved in the mean time so to dispose their affairs, as to be able to lay hold on any favourable opportunity, that might be offer'd to attack the Empire or *Spain*: For since they have violated the Peace of *Nimueguen*, which they had so solemnly ratified and solicited with so much earnestness; there is no reason to believe that they will better observe the Truce, which is a much less matter than the Peace. Moreover the Truce was no sooner made, but *France* threatened *Spain* and *Holland* to break it, if the King of *Spain* should only give the Government of the Low Countries to the Elector of *Bavaria*: Was there ever a pretence more slight, not so say more ridiculous, than to assume a Power to tie the Hands of the King of *Spain*, to abridge his Authority, and to hinder him from disposing of the Government of his own Dominions? The Pretences that the *French* have exhibited in justification of their declaring War against the Estates of *Holland*, make it appear to all the World, that they never will want one to break the Truce: For what have the *Hollanders* done to the King of *France* to incur his displeasure? They had lived almost to that time in continual Amity and Alliance with him, and all the reason that he thought fit to alledge against them was, that they were become ungrateful and haughty; ungrateful, because they had opposed his designs, and had prevented him from conquering all *Flanders*: And haughty, because they had taken upon them to be the Arbitrators of Kings, and had interposed in their Differences, in which point (he said) they had made themselves equal to Crowned Heads. But was it not the apparent interest of the *Hollanders* to hinder the *French* King from making himself master of the *Spanish* Netherlands, since having once subdued those Provinces, he would have said without doubt, that he had the same Right to *Holland* or to *Flanders*? The *Hollanders* also being the Allies of the King of *Spain*; could they abandon him, or suffer a Country to be taken that was so near them, and served them as a Bulwark and Defence? Lastly, the *Hollanders* having carried and established a Trade throughout the whole World, and having Correspondents or Agents in all Estates, their interest required that Peace should be maintained in those parts where they had any Commerce or Traffick; and it is not a mark of Pride, but an Office of Charity to be an Arbitrator or Mediator thereof.

Upon the whole Matter, the Event hath made it appear that the King of *France*

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was not a more conscientious observer of the Truce than he hath been of the Peace, and the reasons produced by him in his Manifesto of the 28th. of September 1688. are frivolous and groundless, as we have already demonstrated in the third Chapter of this Treatise.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Interest of the Germans, the Pope, the Spaniards, and the other Princes to oppose the Pretensions of France to the Empire of Germany.

FOrasmuch as the King of *France* aspires to an universal Monarchy, and is not content to rule and give Laws to his own Subjects, but would also do the like to all the Princes and Sovereign Estates in Christendom; it is their undoubted Interest to use their utmost endeavours to frustrate his great Designs, and to subdue, or at least to weaken a Power that would be predominant over all others; and since he thinks to climb to the top of this Grandeur by the Pretensions that he makes to the Empire and to the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, it will be necessary to enquire who are most concerned to oppose them.

There are none that are under a more indispensable obligation to withstand the Pretensions of *France* to the Empire, than the *Germans* that are the Subjects thereof; and in the first place, it ought to be the principal care of the House of *Austria*, who have had the honor to enjoy the Imperial Diadem for the space of two hundred Years without interruption, to avoid falling under the power of the *French*, who would not be satisfied with snatching the Crown out of their hands, but would entirely extirpate a Family that would be always an Eye-sore to them, as being the most illustrious and most potent in *Germany*. And therefore the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, who are the two chief Branches, and as it were, the two main Pillars of this House, ought to make use of all their force and power to pull down the haughty Grandeur of the *French*, and to take away from them the desire of pretending to the Empire for the future.

After the Emperor and the King of *Spain* these are none more highly concerned to stop the progress of the *French*, than the Princes of the Empire; they know that there were heretofore in *France* many Sovereign Princes, as there are at this day in *Germany*; there was the Duke of *Normandy*, the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Anjou*, the Count of *Provence*, the Count of *Tolose*, the Prince of *Dauphine*, and divers other Sovereign Princes that have been destroyed or dispossessed of their several Jurisdictions, whose Misfortunes ought to be esteemed as a fair warning to the Princes of *Germany*, never to suffer (whatsoever may happen) the King of *France* to be made Emperor, nor his Son King of the *Romans*, lest they involve themselves in the like Troubles; for if ever he should attain to the possession of the Empire, he would permit no more Sovereigns therein than he doth in *France*.

The Imperial Cities also have a great interest in hindering the *French* King from being Emperor; for if this should happen, they would run the risque of losing their Liberties and Privileges after the same manner as all the free Cities of *France*, who have one after another, and by little and little been deprived of their Rights and Franchises.

Lastly, the whole *German* Nation ought to hazard all to prevent their falling under the Dominion of *France*, whose Government is most arbitrary and tyrannical, since

there are no People in the World, without excepting those under the *Turkish* yoke, that are oppressed with such intolerable Taxes, Subsidies and Imposts, as the *French*; and the *Germans* ought not to expect a civiler entertainment from the King of *France*, than his own natural Subjects; nor to rely on any Treaties that they may make with him, since they have already seen by experience, that he takes no more care to observe the Treaties and Compositions that have been made with the Cities of *Flanders* and *Germany* that have yielded to him, than the Treaties of Peace and Truce that he hath made with the Emperor, *Spain* and *Holland*: and when they complain of these Infractions, all the satisfaction that they receive from the Governours and Intendants that are sent to them is, that they are the Orders of the Court and must be obeyed.

It is also the apparent interest of the Pope to hinder the Empire from falling into the hands of the *French*; for in regard the King of *France* hath wrested from him the *Regalia*, and the Authority he had in his Kingdom, hath he not good reason to fear lest being made Emperor he should deprive him of all his Rights in the Empire? Especially since because his Holiness would not submit to his pleasure concerning the Franchises of the Ambassadors Quarters, and the Affair of *Colen*, he hath taken by force of Arms the City and County of *Avignon*, that belongs to him by an indisputable Right, and which his Predecessors have peaceably enjoyed for many Ages. If the King of *France* were Emperor, the Pope would have some grounds to be afraid lest his Flatterers should persuade him to establish the seat of his Empire at *Rome* after the example of the Ancient Emperors; and if this should happen, in what condition would his Holiness be? He would be forced, whether he would or no, to comply with all that the Emperor should require, otherwise he would be compelled to lose all his Patrimony and Authority in *Rome*, and would be reduced to the same state as the Popes were in the time of the Pagan Emperors, who were only private Bishops, as those in *France* or other places of *Italy*; and after the very same manner as they caused the Popes to be put to death, or to be banished from *Rome*; the King of *France* being Emperor, as soon as the Pope should cease to yield a blind obedience to his Orders, would drive him out of *Rome*, banish him into any corner of the Empire according to his pleasure, as we see he sends the Bishops of his own Kingdom into exile whither he thinks fit, when they refuse to do what he commands them. However the Pope being a wise and generous Prince, it is probable, will not suffer himself to be surprized by the Artifices of the *French*, nor be affrighted at their Threats, but will follow his true interest, which is to put a stop to their growing Greatness, and also to endeavour to pull them down, till they shall be reduced to such a condition as not to be able as they have done, to abuse their Grandeur and Power.

It behoves the *Switzers* whose Country is situated between *France* and the Empire, to use their utmost diligence to hinder the King of *France* from obtaining the Imperial Crown: For if this should happen, they would be encompassed on all sides by the *French*. Heretofore their Territories did not border upon any part of *France*, but by the Peace concluded between *Henry IV.* and the Duke of *Savoy* in the year 1601. the Province of *Gex* which the *Canton* of *Berne* had taken from that Prince, being an entrance into *Switzerland* was granted to the *French*, who have since taken possession of *Alsacia* and of the *French* *Comté* of *Bourgogne*, and are become their Neighbors on three several sides; by the Fortress which they have caused to be built at *Huninguen*, within a Cannon shot of *Basil*, they bridle them on that side, and can lock up the *Rhine* from them when they please: And if they were Masters of the Empire, they would entirely shut up all the Passages and Avenues of *Germany* and *Italy*, and would keep them

them as it were besieged within their own Country. Whereas the *Switzers* differ in Point of Religion, some being *Roman* Catholicks and others Protestants, they are in danger of being embroiled, and of hastening their own ruin by a Civil War, which the *French* have long since endeavoured to kindle on account of the matter of *Claris*: But since they are sufficiently informed of their secret practices, and that they study their ruin, as appears by their going about to sow the Seed of Discord amongst them, as well in the affair of *Claris* as in that of *Geneva*, that they might take an occasion by their divisions, to bring them under subjection; they ought if they relish the sweetness of that Liberty, which they have enjoyed for so many days, to break off the Alliance with *France*, which hath been so often violated, to recall their Troops that are in the Service of that Kingdom, and to enter into a League with the other Christian Princes, to prevent the further Exaltation of so ambitious and dangerous a Neighbour.

It is no less the Interest of the United Provinces, than of the other Estates and Principalities to oppose the Pretensions of *France* to the Empire, For their Territories border upon *Germany*, which being once fallen into the Hands of the *French*, they would soon see themselves besieged, and locked up within the Dominions of the King of *France*, who would then without much trouble make himself Master of the *Spanish* *Netherlands*; and thus the *Hollanders* would not be able to stir out of their own Country but by Sea, and altho *Flanders* should remain in the Hands of the *Spaniards*; yet this Bar would not be sufficient to stop the *French*, who can leap over it when they please, as they did in the Year 1672. when it was much larger and stronger than it is at present. The *United Provinces* not being capable of receiving any relief by Land, but from the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire; their affairs would be in a desperate condition, and their Common-wealth would be in great danger of sinking under the Power of the *French*; especially if there should happen to be a King in *England* that would refuse to afford them any assistance.

Forasmuch as the *Polanders* inhabit a Country lying between the *German* and *Ottoman* Empires, they must of necessity submit to one or the other, because the *French* extend their Conquests as far as they can, and never want a pretence to cover their Usurpations. This Kingdom being Elective, if King *John* should die when the *French* are in possession of *Germany*, who at present surpass all other Nations in Intrigues and Artifices, and spare no costs to make Creatures to promote their Interests, they might advise their King to make a Son of *France* King of *Poland*; perhaps the Duke of *Anjou*, or *Berry*, as *Henry III.* did heretofore; since it would be very advantageous to them to set up a King that might be at their Devotion, to defend them against the *Turkish* Empire: And the King of *France* having obtained a great Party by his Pensioners and Envoies, and having always Armies at hand to execute his Designs, might easily (if he were Emperor) seize on that Country, and constitute whom he pleases King. From whence it follows, that if the King of *Poland* would preserve the Kingdom for the Prince his Son, he ought not to confide in the deceitful promises of the *French*, but to be mindful of his true interest, which is to oppose their Proceedings, and especially their pretensions to the Empire.

The *Swedes* altho separated from *Germany* by the *Baltick* Sea, are nevertheless obliged by a remarkable interest to preserve the Empire from falling into the Hands of the *French*, by reason of the Territories that they have therein, which are the Duchy of *Pomerania*, the Duchy of *Breimé*, and the Duchy of *Deux Pons*: And whereas the *French* have taken from them the Duchy of *Deux Pons*, because it belonged to their Jurisdiction, or because they had made a League with the United Provinces, in case the

the King of *France* should be Emperor, they would have reason to fear, lest he should also deprive them of the Duchies of *Pomerania* and *Breme*, the remainders of the Conquests of the Great *Gustavus*; and lest a violent jealousy that *Sweden* might produce another *Gustavus*, who would make as victorious and successful a Progress in *Germany* as the former, might induce this King to banish out of his Empire, a People that had heretofore destroyed that of the *Romans*. The *French* are not ignorant of the Ancient Enmity, nor of the new Animosities that arise between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, which they continually promote and foment, that they may have always one of these two Nations on their side. The King of *Sweden*, who understands well the *French* Politicks, since he hath often had experience of their Perfidiousness and of the Artifices they made use of to engage him in the Year 1674. to declare in their behalf against the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire, will without doubt follow his true Interest, which is as he is one of the Princes of the Empire to withstand the Pretensions of *France* thereunto, and to join with the other Christian Princes to weaken a Power that is so dangerous and formidable to all Christendom.

Denmark in like manner is joined to *Germany* by *Jutland*, through which *Carolus Gustavus* the last King of *Sweden* entred into that Country, and by means of the Ice passed into the Isle of *Funen*, and from thence into *Zeland*, and Besieged the late King of *Denmark* in *Copenhagen* the Capital City of his Kingdom, and if the *Hollanders* had not interposed, would have dispossessed him of all his Estates. If the King of *France* were Emperor, his Power would be more terrible to all Christendom, and much more to be dreaded, than that of the House of *Austria* under the Empire of *Charles V.* who was Emperor and King of *Spain*, because his Dominions were divided by *France*, which is situated between *Spain* and the Empire; but *France* being contiguous with *Germany*, if their King should ascend the Imperial Throne, his Forces would be most formidable and able to invade all others; and therefore it is the Interest of the King of *Denmark* not to admit so potent a Neighbour, unless he be willing to lose his Country, or to become Tributary to him.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Interests of Spain, Portugal, the Emperor, the Princes of Italy, Holland, England, and the other Princes, to oppose the Pretensions of France, to the Kingdoms and Estates of the King of Spain.

THE Queen of *Spain* being dead, the *Spaniards* hope that their King Marrying again, will have Children by his Second Wife; and that by this means the Dauphin of *France* will be excluded from his pretended Succession to the Dominions of the King his Uncle: But if this Prince should die without Children, or should leave any that might die Young, the Pretensions of *France* will be still in force; it will be necessary therefore to declare the particular interest of every Christian Prince and State to oppose this pretended Succession of the Dauphin, to the Kingdoms and Estates of the King of *Spain*.

The *Spaniards* without doubt have a greater Interest in this case than any: They are a free People, and have always lived under Kings that have ruled them gently, and have not held the Reins of Government too straight, and therefore they know not how to yield to an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power, such as is that of *France*; they pay no Taxes, but those that are levied by their own consent, they rate themselves, and willingly contribute what is charged upon them without Compulsion; but if

they

they should fall under the Dominion of *France*, they would be overwhelmed with Gabols and Imposts; for they could not hope to be better used, than the natural Subjects of that Crown: Moreover the *Spaniards* are valiant and generous, they have been formerly the Terror of *France* and of all *Europe*, and their victorious Armies have made great Progress in *Africa*, and have vanquished vast and mighty Kingdoms in the New World; and after so many gallant Exploits, it would be a shame for them to submit to the Yoke of *France*, that hath been always their implacable Enemy, that hath always thwarted their Designs, and obstructed their Conquests, that hath ever joined with their Enemies to make War against them, hath favoured and fomented all the Insurrections and Revolts that have happened in their Dominions, and hath spared nothing that might tend to their Ruin: Therefore that they may avoid falling under an insupportable Tyranny and Slavery, their Interest requires them to enter into Leagues with all the Adversaries of that Kingdom and to apply their utmost strength to Enervate a Power that hath been so opposite to them, and to hearken to no Overtures of Peace or Truce, till they have retrieved all that hath been taken from them since the *Pyrenean Treaty*.

After the *Spaniards*, there are none under a greater Obligation to oppose the Pretensions of the *Dauphin* than the Emperor; since by the last Will and Testament of *Philip IV.* the Emperor and his Male Children are declared the Heirs and Successors of the King of *Spain* in all his Dominions: And therefore if he should let slip the opportunity, he would deprive himself and his posterity of this advantage; moreover the House of *Austria* being divided into two Branches, one of *Germany*, and the other of *Spain*; if his Imperial Majesty should permit the *French* to take possession of the Estates of the King of *Spain*, he would thereby lose a great and considerable Support, and the Aid and Supplies that upon occasion he might receive from those Estates, which were so serviceable to *Ferdinand II.* in his War against *Sweden*, that by the means thereof he gained the Battel of *Norlinguen*, and chased the *Swedes* almost out of *Germany*; therefore it is the Interest of the Emperor to employ all his Forces, and those of his Allies to preserve *Spain*, and all the Territories thereunto belonging in the Hands of the *Austrian Family*, and to prevent the pretended Succession of the *Dauphin*.

Neither ought the *Portugueses* to be insensible of the mischievous consequences of this Succession; For *France* would thereby gain a double pretension to their Dominions, one by the right of Dependence, and the other by the right of Jurisdiction. 1. By the right of Dependence, because *Portugal* was subdued by *Philip II.* who pretended to the Sovereignty of that Kingdom, after the Death of *Sebastian* their last King, by the Wars of *Don Carlos* his Son, and the Infanta of *Portugal* his Wife; and *Spain* hath enjoyed it till the Reign of *Philip IV.* the Father-in-Law of the King of *France*, and Grandfather of the *Dauphin*, in whose time the *Portugueses* shook off the *Spanish Yoke*, about the Year 1640. And therefore if the *Dauphin* were King of *Spain*, he might lay claim to a Kingdom which his Predecessors had conquered, and had possessed for the space of about sixty Years, with much more Reason and Justice than the King of *France* his Father demanded the Dependences of the Kingdom of *Austrasia*, and deposed some of the Princes that had enjoyed it for six or seven hundred Years. 2. By the Right of Jurisdiction, because *Portugal* is joined to *Spain* on three sides, and on the other it borders upon, and is bounded by the Ocean; this Kingdom making but one Peninsula with those of *Castile*, *Aragon*, *Grenada*, &c. that belong to the King of *Spain*, and are environed on all sides by the Sea; except on that next *France*, from

from which *Spain* is separated by the *Pyrenean Mountains*. The King of *France* will hereafter tell the *Portugueses*, that according to the right of Jurisdiction, he that is in possession of all these Kingdoms that appertain to *Spain*, ought also to have *Portugal*; and that even the common good of Christendom required it, to hinder the *Africans* from making Incursions into *Europe*, as they did in the time of the *Carthaginians*; for they might enter through this Country, if the *Portugueses* being enraged against *France*, should open a Passage for them, and the *French*, who never want pretences to quarrel with their Neighbours, will easily find one to break the Peace with *Portugal*; which being shut up within the Kingdoms and Estates of *Spain*, could not be relieved but by Sea, and that not without very great difficulty; therefore it is the Interest of the King of *Portugal* to oppose the Pretensions of the *Dauphin* in time, otherwise he will be in danger of being deprived of his Kingdom by the *French*.

The Princes of *Italy* also have good reason to beware of this pretended Succession; for if the King of *France* should once become Master of the Territories of the King of *Spain* in *Italy*, they would have just Grounds to fear lest he should invade the Countries of the other Princes, or should Erect in some City of *Italy* a Court like to that of *Metz*, and should Summon them to appear there one after another, to demand their possessions in the Ancient Kingdom of *Lombardy*, which have heretofore belonged to the Kings of *France*; and lest after he hath taken away from them what the *Lombards* enjoyed, he should proceed to require the Dominions that *Charlemagne* and his Successors obtained in *Italy*; since he hath as much right to the Principalities of *Italy*, as he had to the Provinces that he wrested out of the Hands of the Princes of *Germany*, as the Successor of *Lotharius* and *Dagobert* King of *Austrasia*. And if the King of *France* should reduce *Italy* under his subjection, the Duke of *Savoy* could not hope to enjoy his Country long; which lying in the Passage and Road to *Italy*, (it is to be feared) he would seize, as he did the County of *Montbeliard*, which he found in his way in going to *Alsatia*. And this Prince ought to be so much the more sensible of this, in regard the Kings of *France* have twice taken possession of his Dominions.

The *Hollanders* also have a remarkable Interest to prevent this pretended Succession even before the Death of the King of *Spain*; for if it so happen, when it shall please God to take this Prince out of the World, that the Emperor be engaged in a War against the *Turks*, he could not send supplies to the *Spaniards*, nor withstand the *Dauphin*, because the *French* have gained almost all the Posts along the *Rhine*, and have caused a great number of Forts to be Built, that are well fortified, and sufficient to put a stop to the Arms of the Emperor and Empire for a long time. And if his Imperial Majesty was not able to relieve *Luxemburg*, the best and strongest place in *Flanders*, that lies in the Neighbourhood of *Germany*; how could he assist the *Spaniards* that are so far distant? He must either Travel through all *France*, since that is situated between *Spain* and the Empire, or cross the Sea; which he cannot do, since he is not provided with Vessels to Transport his Forces;

The King of *France* having great Armies in a readiness, which he maintains (after his usual manner) in the time of Peace, might soon make himself Master of *Madrid*, as he did of *Strasbourg*, before they were aware of him, and might also by the means of Money, or fair promises, obtain the consent of the chief Lords and Grandees of *Spain*; and afterwards would make use of them to gain the Governours of Provinces, tho never so remote; after the same manner as the Noble Men of *Portugal*, who having made the Duke of *Bragance* King, and having given notice thereof to all the Go-

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vernours of the Countries inhabited by the *Portugueses*, as far as the *Indies*; they all acknowledged him as such. If the Governour of *Flanders* should yield to the persuasions of the Spanish Lords, that had owned the *Dauphin* as their King, as he might do, especially if he saw that he was already Master of *Spain*, and would permit him to continue in his Government; the *French* would become the Neighbours of the *Hollanders*, whether they would or no, without striking so much as one stroke: And *Holland* being a Dependance of the Seventeen Provinces, as all the World knows; for not above an hundred years are passed, since the United Provinces withdrew themselves from the Dominion of *Spain*: If the *Dauphin* should be settled in the quiet possession of *Flanders*, by virtue of his pretended Succession, he would claim a like right to all the United Provinces, as having appertained to *Charles V.* and to *Philip II.* his Son from whom he is descended: And then the *Hollanders* would be forced either to submit to *France*, or to take up a Resolution to defend themselves better than they did in the Year 1672. But so far as the King of *France* hath haughtily declared War against them and the Emperor, and hath broken the Truce without any just or lawful cause, they ought to maintain a strict Union with the Emperor and the Empire, and to make no more Treaties of Peace with the *French*, but by the general Consent of all their Allies; and even to hearken to none, till they shall be reduced to such a Condition, as it may not be in their power to do them any further mischief, or at least, shall not be able to violate any Treaties so free: And more especially they ought to remain united with *England*; which they may easily do, since the Prince of *Orange* hath ascended the Throne of that Kingdom; for as long as these two Estates shall be united together, they will fear none, and will become formidable to all their Enemies.

Altho *England* is separated from other Countries, by the Sea that encompasseth them on all sides, nevertheless it is their interest to oppose this Succession. If the *French* were Masters of all the Territories of the King of *Spain*; which may happen, unless the Christian Princes enter into mutual Leagues to resist them, they would destroy *England* by ruining their Trade; for they would hinder the *English* from Trafficking in *France*, *Spain*, and in the *Spanish* Jurisdictions in *Italy*; since they would belong to them by virtue of this Succession: And by keeping a strong Fleet at *Cadiz*, they would shut up the Mouth of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and interrupt their Commerce in *Turkey*, and all the Countries that lie along the Coasts of that Sea; neither would they permit them to carry on any Negotiations in the *Indies*, since they would be very potent in those Parts, by reason of the Dominions that they would possess there, by the means of this Succession.

Furthermore it is to be observed, that *England* is very subject to sudden Commotions, as appears by the History of that Nation; and this present Age hath produced very strange *Catastrophes*, that have almost overturned their State; and the *French* being their Neighbours, who lay hold on all occasions to foment Divisions and Animosities amongst them, which are too easily raised there; it is much to be feared, lest taking an advantage by their dissensions, they should one day make a descent upon that Island, as the *Romans*, the *Saxons*, and the *Normans* did heretofore, who became Masters thereof by the means of much less Forces than those of the King of *France*, and the *French* may do this with so much the more ease, in regard they are the nearest Neighbours to *England*; there being but the distance of five or six Leagues between them. Therefore it behoves the *English* to remain in a strict Alliance with *Holland*, the Empire and *Spain*, and all as it were in one Body, are obliged to attack this Monstrous

and Predominant Power ; for by reducing the *French* to the last extremity, and carrying their victorious Armies into the very Heart of their Country, they will diversify and disable them for the future, from causing Divisions, Disturbances, and Seditions in other Kingdoms and Estates. And whereas the *English* have no differences amongst themselves, but on the account of Ecclesiastical Government, they ought to love, and mutually to support one another, if they would triumph over their Enemies ; and having at present a Valiant, Wise, and Generous King, whom God hath begun to Bless after a most extraordinary manner; they ought to promote his Noble Enterprizes, which are, that all Treaties between the Christian Princes may be preserved inviolable; and the Covenants and Agreements therein contained punctually preserved ; and that they that have for a long time disturbed the Repose of Christendom, and violently seized on the Dominions and Territories of their Neighbouring Princes, may be compelled to keep the Peace, and to restore all that they have so unjustly Usurped.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Justice of the Cause of the Christian Princes, in opposing with all their Power the Pretensions of France to the Empire, and to the Dominions of the King of Spain.

THE King of *France* flatters himself at present with the thoughts that he hath a Right to the Empire, and to the Dominions of the King of *Spain* ; but if he hath no real Title thereunto, as we shall make it appear ; his Case is bad and unjust, and that of the Princes, who oppose his Pretensions, good and warrantable. For,

1. He hath no right to the Empire ; because that for above an hundred years before *Hugh Capet* usurped the Crown of *France* ; the *Germans* had shaken off the Yoke of the *French* Kings, and had made Emperors of their own Nation, and have since continued to do so for about eight hundred years without interruption. 2. *Lewis XIV.* is not the Off-spring of the Kings of *France* that were Emperors ; for he is not descended from *Charlemagne*, but from *Hugh Capet*, who never had any right to the Imperial Diadem, nor any jurisdiction in *Germany* ; he had not so much as a Title to the Crown of *France*, according to the opinion of the *French* Historians, but usurped it from *Charles Duke of Lorrain*, who was the Son, Brother, and Uncle of the three last Kings. 3. The Kings of *France* in divers Leagues and Negotiations, that they have transacted with the Emperors, have acknowledged them as such, and have always treated them in this Quality. 4. When after the Decease of an Emperor, the Electors have assembled together to proceed to the Election of a new One, the Kings of *France* that have been ambitious of that Dignity, have owned their right in Creating the Emperor, since they have solicited them in their own behalf ; but have not alledged any claim that they had to the Empire. Lastly, we see that *Pepin*, and *Hugh Capet*, Kings of *France*, had no other right to the Crown, but that which they received from the General Estates of the Kingdom, since they were not Princes of the Blood Royal ; for the first was the Son of *Charles Martel* the Principal Counsellor of State, who usurped it from *Childeric III.* that was lineally descended from *Pharamond* and *Clouis*, who had Conquered the King of *France*, that was then under the Roman Government, and consequently had a just Title to it; and the Second was only chief Minister of State, nevertheless their Successors have been acknowledged as true and lawful Kings of *France*. Now if the General Estates of the Kingdom of *France*, have had a Power and Right to take away the Crown from *Childeric*, to give it to *Pepin*,
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and afterwards to take it from the Head of *Charles* to bestow it on *Hugh Capet*; have not the Estates of the Empire a like Right to take away the Imperial Crown from the Kings of *France*, and to give it to one of their own Princes: None can doubt thereof, otherwise if there is any Person living that is descended from the Kings of the first Race, it must be affirmed that the Crown belongs to him, and not to the Posterity of *Peppin*, or of *Hugh Capet*, which would be ridiculous.

As for the Pretensions of the *Dauphin* of *France* to the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, if the General Law of that Country be considered, that calls the Female Issue to the Succession for default of the Male, the *Dauphin* hath indeed a Right to the Crown, in case that King should happen to die without Children; but he is excluded from the Succession by another Law made by the *Spaniards*, when they Married their Infanta with a King of *France*; for at that time they caused them to renounce their right of Succession, which if they had refused to do, they never would have consented to such a Marriage: And the *French* having several times acquiesced in this Renunciation, it hath passed into a Law, and if *France* hath Authority to make Laws, why should not *Spain* have the same Power? It is true indeed (as hath been objected) that the Civil Law discharges Children from those Renunciations that have been made by their Parents to their prejudice; but this only hath respect to private Persons, and not to Sovereigns that have the Legislative Power, and engage themselves to the Observation of those Laws that they have made. Now so far as the King and Queen of *France* have imposed a Law upon themselves, to renounce all the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, whatsoever pretensions they had or might have for the future, without which the Marriage could not have been accomplished; and since this Renunciation was made by Sovereigns, it is valid and irrevocable, and the *Dauphin* cannot abrogate it, nor call it in question. Moreover a Publick Interest is not the same as a Private; the Publick Interest of *Spain*, requires that the Subjects of that Kingdom should have their own particular King, that they may not become a Province of *France*; and the *Spaniards* not having given their consent to the Marriage of the Infanta with the King of *France*, till she had first renounced all the Pretensions that she might have to *Spain*; and the King her Husband having afterwards confirmed and ratified this renunciation by the Treaty of Peace; neither his Majesty nor the *Dauphin* his Son can recede from this Contract, otherwise there would be no certainty to be found in the Covenants and Agreements of Princes; and consequently none could treat with them upon any sure Grounds, which would redound very much to their disadvantage. It is not to be doubted, but Sovereign Princes have a Power to alter the Laws of their Country, when they prove prejudicial to the common good and benefit thereof; such a one is this, that calls the Female Sex to the Succession of the Crown; for by making the King of *France* Successor to the Dominions of his Catholic Majesty, it deprives the *Spaniards* of their peculiar natural King, and brings them under subjection to the *French*, to the great and apparent damage of the whole *Spanish* Nation.

The Christian Princes in vigorously opposing the Pretensions of the *Dauphin*, will not act unjustly, because they only put the Contract in Execution that was formerly made by his Parents: Moreover by this means they will preserve their Country for their lawful Successors, and will secure themselves that are at present absolute Sovereigns, from becoming the Vassals of *France*. Therefore to prevent this Succession, which would be the ruin of all the Christian Princes, and a sure step for the King of *France* to ascend the Throne of the Universal Monarchy of Christendom; all these Po-

tentates ought to enter into mutual Leagues one with another, if they have not already so, without having respect to the diversity of the Religions of which they make profession; neither ought any differences therein to stand in competition with their Interest; since there have been, and always will be divers Opinions amongst Christians concerning matters of Religion, as there have been also heretofore amongst the *Jews*, whatsoever care may be taken to oblige all Men to hold one and the same Faith. *There must needs be* (saith St. Paul) *Heresies in the World, that those that are approved may be made manifest.* Have we not seen the *French King*, whilst he counterfeited the Zealous Catholic, assisting the Protestants of *Hungary*; and that he hath formerly kept a private Correspondence, and still continues to maintain a strict Alliance with the Enemies of Christianity; because it tends to the promoting of his Interests against the House of *Austria*, which he would utterly destroy? If the triple League that was made by *England, Sweden, and Holland*, with the House of *Austria*, had lasted to this day, *France* would not have been exalted so high, nor *Spain* debased so low: The *French* would not have thought of usurping the Countries of their Neighbours; they would have been obliged to remain within their Bounds, they would not have treated Sovereign Princes as their own Subjects, neither would they so often have disturbed the Tranquillity of *Europe*; they would have been contented with their condition, and would have desired Peace with the bordering Nations; whereas they have since studied nothing, but how to molest and to raise War against them. The Princes being united, will be invincible, and terrible to their Enemies, but if they are divided, they will be made the Prey and Vassals of *France*. *Scyturus* King of the *Tartars*, made a very lively Representation of the excellency of Concord, to his Children, who were (as we are informed by History) eighty in number; for this Prince perceiving the time of his dissolution to draw near, ordered them to appear before him, and a Bundle of Rods to be brought into the Room, whereupon he commanded his youngest Son, and all the others successively to the Eldest, to break them; which they not being able to do, he caused the Bundle to be untied, and given to him; who immediately snapped the Twigs one after another without any difficulty, and spake thus to his Children: My Sons, you have seen that you were not able with all your strength to break the Rods, as long as they were bound together, but I have easily broken them after they were untied; in like manner if you remain united together, you will be invincible, but if you are divided, the least Enemy will soon destroy you.

Heretofore when the *French* acted with Integrity, the *Spaniards* gained an advantage over them in their Negotiations; they tired them by their patience, and obliged them by this means to grant what they demanded; but since the *French* have had no regard to the Obligation of Treaties, and have acknowledged no other Law, but that of their own interest; they have by their subtil intrigues, fair promises, or liberal largesses prevailed over the *Spaniards*, and other Nations; and have thereby preserved the greatest part of their Conquests. Therefore soasmuch as the King of *France* promiseth all things, and performeth nothing, makes a shew of Peace when he intends to raise a most blood War; Cryeth aloud, that the Truce must be kept when he violates it, and that the Peace and Tranquillity of *Europe* ought to be maintained, when none disturbs it but himself; the Christian Princes if they will be guided by their true Interest, ought not to hearken to any propositions of Peace or Truce, nor to appoint any place in order to any Treaty whatsoever, lest they fall under the same Circumstances as they did at *Nimueguen*, where after they had been amused with fruitless Conferences, whilst their Enemies made preparations and advanced their Conquests, they

they were disunited by their Artifices, and whereas they were ready to triumph over the French, and had already reduced them to those streights that they were no longer able to keep what they had usurped; by this division, they got a fair opportunity to insult over them, and to oblige them to accept of such a Peace as they thought fit to prescribe.

CHAP. X.

Of the Change that happened in England by the advancement of the Prince of Orange to the Throne, and of the true Interest of that Kingdom.

James II. King of England ascended the Throne contrary to the Opinion of those that understood that the Laws of that Kingdom, do generally and without any exception exclude Roman Catholicks from all publick Offices and Places of Trust: And the Parliament assembled at Oxford in the Reign of Charles II. would have excluded this Prince from the Crown, and had effectually done it, if he had not obliged the King his Brother to dissolve them.

If this King had followed his true Interest, it is certain, as great a Catholick as he was, he might have peaceably enjoyed his three Kingdoms; might have been the Arbitrator of all Christendom, might have maintained Peace and Tranquillity throughout Europe, might have openly professed his Religion, favoured his Catholick Subjects, and might even have placed some of them in publick Employments, especially Military, without much offending his Protestant Subjects.

His Interest was, 1. to maintain the Protestant Religion within all his Dominions, and his Subjects in their Rights, Liberties, and Privileges, and he ought to have been so much the more punctual in performing this, in regard he had obliged himself thereunto by an Oath at his first coming to the Crown. 2. He ought to have kept the Balance equal between France and the House of Austria, and whereas Charles II. King of England, being the Guarantee of the Peace concluded at Nimueguen, and of the Truce made in the Year 1684. and the other Allies should have compelled the French to Disband their Forces upon the Publication thereof, but neglected to do it; James II. should have set about it after his accession to the Crown, and should have caused them to restore to the Emperor, to the Princes of the Empire, and the King of Spain, all that they had usurped from them since this Peace; and in case they refused it, he should have entred into a League with the Emperor, the Princes of the Empire, Spain and the United Provinces. If the King of France had seen this, he would not have denied to surrender what he had unjustly taken away, contrary to the Treaties, nor to lay down his Arms as the Allies did, or else to employ them in the Service of the Venetians against the Turks; or to act himself with all his Forces against those Infidels, which would have been infallibly driven out of Europe, if he had generously proceeded against that common Enemy of Christianity.

If the Late King of England had maintained the Protestant Religion in his Dominions, and his People in their Liberties and Properties, as he had solemnly engaged to do, it is certain that all his Subjects would have remained constant and firm to his Interests, and not have Abandoned him as we see they have; and if he had only constrained the French King to Disband his Armies, or to employ them in driving the Turks out of Europe, he would never have thought of breaking the Truce, nor of violating the Law of Nations as he hath done, to the great Scandal of Christianity.

But

30 *The True Interest*
But instead of pursuing his own true Interest, he hath blindly embraced that of *France*, and hath followed the pernicious Counsels that have been inspired into him by the *Jesuits*, whose fiery and inconsiderate Zeal for the *Roman Catholic Religion*, hath not long ago almost destroyed *Hungary*.

The King of *England* had this Example before his Eyes; and besides, he saw a-
bundance of *French* Protestants daily flocking into his Country, who upon account
of their Religion had left their Gods, Wives and Children; which might have been
a sufficient indication to him, what his Subjects would do when he should go about
to subvert their Religion, and Laws, and to deprive them of their Liberties and Pri-
vileges. If one quarter of the *French* Nation had been Protestants, their King would
never have undertaken to destroy them, or if he had, it would have been to as little
purpose, as it was, in the Reigns of his Predecessors *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* who
had contrived many projects to extirpate them out of their Dominions; often raised
great Armies against them, and violated several Treaties, but could not obtain any
success in their enterprizes; tho' the number of Protestants at that time did not amount
to one twentieth part of the Kingdom; and after all these vain attempts, *Charles IX.*
was obliged by his Edicts to grant them larger Privileges and Immunities, and *Hen-
ry III.* could not defend himself from the League that the Family of *Guise* had made
against him, but by casting himself into the Arms of his Protestant Subjects, and
Lewis XIV. could not have accomplished his designs, if *Lewis XIII.* had not taken
from them the strong holds that *Henry III.* had given them, and if he had not for
thirty years laboured to undermine them, by turning them out of publick Offices, and
fomenting divisions amongst them. Since therefore the King of *France* hath been em-
ployed so many years, hath set so many Springs in motion, and hath made use of an
infinite number of Engines to destroy the Protestants of his Kingdom; who sees not
that it was a great folly and presumption in the *Jesuits*, and other Counsellors of
the King of *England*, to urge that Prince to root out the Protestant Religion in his
Kingdoms of *England*, and *Scotland*, wherein there were at least two hundred Pro-
testants for one Catholic? What could these wicked Miscreants expect from a Con-
duct so contrary to the Rules and Maxims of Policy, but a general insurrection of the
whole Nation; or that they would call over the Prince of *Orange* (as they did) to
assist them in maintaining their Religion, and preserving their Laws and Privileges
against a King that was resolved to subvert both? And therefore these evil Counsel-
lors, and the *French* that sent them, and not his Subjects were the cause of the fall
of King *James*, and dispossessed him of his Kingdoms. Moreover experience teaches
us in all Ages, that all extraordinary changes and revolutions in Kingdoms, have had
their rise from the ill use that Kings have made of their Authority; the People ordi-
narily are patient, and shake not off the Yoke of their Princes, till they are very much
exasperated, and their Patience tired out, till their Laws are abolished, their Pri-
vileges invaded or the exercise of their Religion prohibited.

If the Carriage of King *James* towards his own Subjects was rude and severe, it
was also very irregular with respect to the Prince of *Orange*, his Nephew and Son-in-
Law; who offered him his Purse and Service by the *Heer van Bentling*, against the
Duke of *Monmouth* that disputed with him the Title to the Crown; but instead of re-
turning him a suitable requital for his kindness, he joined with the King of *France* to
destroy him. All *Europe* knows that the *French* are afraid of the *English*, more than
any other Power, and that they durst deny them nothing: If King *James II.* had taken
never so little care of the Affairs of the Prince of *Orange*, and would have acted sin-
cerely.

cerely for him, none can doubt but he would have hindered the King of *France* from plundering the Principality of *Orange*, quartering of Soldiers therein at discretion, forcing the Inhabitants to renounce their Religion, demolishing their Churches, and lastly from depriving this Prince of his Country in the time of a full Peace, and directly contrary to the Treaty of *Nimueguen* and the Truce. But on the contrary to obstruct his passage to the Throne, he urged and earnestly solicited him to consent to the abolishing of the Penal Laws and Test, to render him and the Princess odious to the *English*; and at last he received an account that King *James* his Father-in-Law had suffered a Counterfeit Son to be set up to deprive him, and the Princess his Wife of their Succession to the Crown of *England*; I shall not insist on this Forgery as not belonging to my Subject, but shall only say thus much; that so farasmuch as after the Report was spread abroad that the Queen was with Child, and when the time drew near that she should be brought to Bed, no Person was called to assist on the behalf of the Princess of *Orange*, nor the Princess of *Denmark* her Sister, who had a Right to the Crown as the Daughters of King *James II.* and since no notice was given to the Ambassador of *Holland*, nor to the Ambassadors of other Princes that resided at *London*, nor to the Bishops and other Lords that ought to have been present (according to the Custom of *England*) at the Queens Delivery; the Prince and Princess of *Orange* had a just Suspicion that the pretended Prince of *Wales* was a Counterfeit Child. Lastly the Prince of *Orange* was certainly informed, that the King of *England*, and the King of *France* had made a League together, to wage War against the *United Provinces*; and after he had robbed this Prince of his Principality of *Orange*, to finish his ruin by destroying a Country, whose Head and Governour he was. The Demands that the King of *England* made to the *Hollanders* about the Affair of *Batam*, and the threatnings he added, were evident proofs, that he designed to declare War against them; and the Speech that the *Comte d'Avaux* made to the Estates General of the *United Princes*, which was afterwards Printed, makes it appear to all *Europe*, that these two Kings were in League together to destroy *Holland*, since this Ambassador affirmed, that there was a strict Alliance and Friendship between the King his Master, and the King of *Great Britain*.

The Prince of *Orange* being called over by the *English*, could not refuse to grant their request, and to help them to defend their Religion and Laws; he saw by the Memorials that were presented to him, which were published not long ago; that the Nation had suffered very much, and that their Patience was tired to the utmost; and therefore he feared (not without good reason) lest a general Insurrection throughout the whole Country might ensue, and lest the People should chuse a Lord or some other Person for their General; who after he had defeated the Kings Party, might set up a Commonwealth or in imitation of *O. Cromwell* might cause himself to be proclaimed Protector, and by this means all the Princes and Princesses of the Blood Royal, would be deprived of the Crown: He was also very sensible, that a Civil War might be raised in that Kingdom, and that abundance of Blood might be spilt therein, as is usual in the like Commotions, and as it happened in the Reign of *Charles II.* whereupon to prevent the Effusion of *English* Blood, and to preserve the Crown in the Royal Family, he generously resolved to pass into *England*, not to make a Conquest thereof, but to maintain their Religion and Laws, as he hath effectually done.

The Expedition of this Prince hath had such success, that all *Europe* cannot but be amazed and astonished at it; and Posterity will scarce be persuaded to believe, that a famous King, who had on several occasions given proofs of his Valour and Courage,

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and had a considerable Fleet at Sea, and an Army of forty thousand Men on Land; should in five Weeks time, lose two great Kingdoms, without so much as fighting one Battel, and should be forced to Fly before a Prince, who had but fifteen or sixteen thousand Men when he Landed in his Country, and those too weakened with the Fatigue of the Sea, and the greatest part of their Horses rendred incapable of Service. This plainly sheweth that Kings ought never to abuse their Authority, nor to rob their Subjects of their Liberties and Privileges, if they would not be forsaken by them, as *James II.* late King of England hath been; who having lost the good Will of his People, durst not hazard an uncertain Battel, but fled before his Adversary, and left him in his Place.

But herein was conspicuous, the admirable Clemency and Generosity of the Prince of *Orange*, which fully justifies his proceedings, and evidently makes it appear, that he came not into *England* to make himself King, but to maintain the Religion and Laws of that Country, and to preserve the Crown for the Princes and Princesses of the Blood Royal: King *James* having fled out of *England*, was repulsed by a contrary Wind, and constrained to return, being taken by certain Fisher-men that knew him not, but thinking him to be a Jesuit in disguise, brought him before a Justice of the Peace, who immediately discovered who he was: In the mean time the Prince, who had some days before received intelligence that the King was gone, and had taken his course to *France*, drew near to *London*, and was come to *Windsor*, within twenty Miles thereof, where being informed that His Majesty was stopped, he sent him word that he might return to *London*, and reside in what part of his Kingdom he pleased, and dispatched his Guards to bring him back to his Palace at *Whitehall*, where he had no sooner arrived, but he understood that since his departure, the Governour of the Tower of *London*, had delivered up the Keys to the Lord Mayor of that City, that the Garrison which he had left therein, had marched out, and that the Inhabitants had made themselves Masters of the Place, and also that the Apprentices were risen in great numbers, and had in a Tumultuous manner pulled down the College of the Jesuits, several Chappels, and the House of Father *Petres*; therefore he feared lest the Rabble might come and force his Palace, and being abandoned by all his Protestant Subjects, did not think himself safe there, insomuch that he sent a Message to the Prince of *Orange*, to acquaint him that he designed to retire from *London*; who to prevent his being molested or abused by any, commanded two Companies of his Horse-Guards to attend him, and to conduct him to *Rocheſter* according to his desire, where he remained not long, ere he sent back the Guards, and passed over into *France*.

There are none that doubt that the King of *England* was a mortal Enemy to the Prince of *Orange*, and that if he had fallen into his Hands, he would have found the same entertainment as that of the Duke of *Monmouth*: But the Prince of *Orange* hath been very generous towards this King; when he had him in his power, he treated him as a Friend, he caused him to be Guarded as a King; that the mutinous and enraged Multitude might not commit any violence upon His Person; he gave him his choice either to stay or to go, he permitted him to consult with his Friends thereupon, and when he had resolved to depart, he ordered his Troops to wait upon him, to secure his retreat.

The King of *England* having after this manner quitted his Kingdom, the Lords as well Spiritual as Temporal, entreated the Prince of *Orange* to take upon him the Administration of the Government, and to that end declared him Regent of the Kingdom, that he might be invested with full Power and Authority to Summon a Con-

vention

vention or Parliamentary Assembly, since the King before his departure had revoked the Writs that he had issued out for the calling of a Parliament: The Convention being assembled at the time appointed, a Party in the House of Lords, maintained that King *James* had not forfeited the Crown by leaving the Kingdom; and that therefore the Prince of *Orange* ought only to be made Regent of the Kingdom; but the whole House of Commons, together with a considerable Party in the House of Lords, soon came to this Resolution, That King *James* II. by violating the Laws of the Kingdom, and depriving his Subjects of their Rights and Privileges, contrary to his Coronation-Oath, &c. had abdicated the Crown, and that consequently the Throne was vacant, whereupon the House of Commons that are the Representatives of all the People, were of opinion to proclaim the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, King and Queen of *England*, to which also the House of Lords agreed; and thus they were both advanced to the Throne by the unanimous consent of the whole Nation.

The Prince of *Orange*, or *William* III. being made King of *England*, his interest as also that of his People is, 1. to oblige the Episcopal Party to be United with the Presbyterian, at least so far as to tolerate and mutually to support one another; and they ought to do so in regard they agree in one and the same Faith, and only differ in matters of Ecclesiastical Government and Ceremonies, which in themselves are things indifferant, and consequently the Peace and Unity of the Church ought not to be broken on that account; moreover they ought to consider that their Enemies have from time to time made use of these differences, to raise Divisions and Civil Wars amongst them, and to cause them to be their own destroyers.

II. It is the Interest of *England* to preserve the Laws that exclude Papists from publick Offices, inviolable, and more especially they ought to take care how to prevent any Catholick Prince from ascending the Throne, since experience teacheth them, that in admitting *James* II. their Religion, Laws and Liberties, were in great danger of being totally subverted, and their Country of being embroiled in continual disorders and confusion by an Intestine War, that would have caused Rivers of Blood to run in their Land: Nether ought they to permit their Princes to Marry with Catholicks, for this mixture of Religion is of a very pernicious consequence in Marriages, and in this they ought to follow the Maxims of the *Roman* Catholicks, who never suffer a Protestant King in any Country where their Religion is predominant, nor their Princes to Marry with Protestant Princesses.

III. It behoves *England* to remain in a strict Union with *Holland*, for these two Powers being united, will command all the Seas, and will become formidable to their Enemies, tho never so potent, they will attract the Commerce of all Nations, and all People, even the most remote will desire an amicable Correspondence with them; and so far as jealousies do often arise between Persons of the same Profession, and especially amongst the Merchants, and since their Enemies have made use of this means to divide them, and to provoke them to declare War one against another, it would be requisite for the avoiding of these mischiefs, to establish certain Rules and Orders between them, and if the *English* shall happen to break them to the prejudice of the *Hollanders*, the King and his Council ought to compel such private Subjects immediately to give them satisfaction, according to the Damages sustained, and in case any *Hollander* should infringe these Rules, the Estates of *Holland* ought also to cause reparation to be made without delay.

IV. It is the Interest of the *English* Nation, to keep the Balance even between *France* and the House of *Austria*, and to hinder these two Powers from advancing one above

the other, as also from invading the Territories of their Neighbours; by this means they may become the Arbitrators of all *Europe*, and may always maintain Peace amongst the Christian Princes. *Charles II.* and *James II.* having neglected to pursue this their true Interest, have been the cause of this prodigious Elevation of the *French*, and consequently of all the Injuries that they have offered to all the Princes, and Estates of Christendom; for, whereas King *Charles II.* was made Guarantee of the Peace of *Nimueguen*, he ought to have compelled the *French* to Disband their Forces, as the Allies had done, otherwise he ought to have joined with all the Allies, and declared War against them; if he had acted as his quality of Guarantee of the Peace required, the King of *France* would not have set up his Courts at *Brisac*, and *Metz*, nor would he have taken away the Countries of divers Princes of the Empire, under the pretence of Dependencies, and by virtue of the Decrees of those Courts maintained by force of Arms; nor would he have usurped from the King of *Spain* so many Cities, Towns and Villages, since the Treaty, neither would he have besieged and taken the Cities of *Strasburg* and *Luxemburg*, nor would his Troops have committed such Outrages, and Devastations in *Flanders*, nor so many ways violated the Peace, which he had solemnly ratified.

It was expected that the Accession of *James II.* to the Crown of *England* would have been very advantageous to Christendom; he seemed to be a Prince valiant and generous, and it was hoped that he would have constrained the *French* to lay down their Arms, or to join them with those of the *Venetians*, to drive the *Turks* out of *Europe*, or at least to keep the Truce inviolable; but the Event hath made it appear, that the Elevation of this Prince to the Throne, hath been prejudicial to the Christian Princes, especially the Catholick, and even to the *Roman Catholick Religion* itself: 1. to the Catholick Princes, in regard that during his Reign, the King of *France* hath attempted to attack the Pope even at *Rome*, where under colour of an Embassy, he hath taken possession of one Quarter of that City with five hundred Men, the greatest part of whom were Officers of War, and would have imposed Laws on him, and obliged him by force to recall a Bull that he had set forth to vindicate his Authority, and to cause Justice to be executed upon Criminals in his Capital City: Again, under the Reign of *James II.* the King of *France* hath openly waged War against the Pope, and hath besieged and taken the City and County of *Avignon*, that belongs to his Holiness by an unquestionable Right. And during the Reign of *James II.* the King of *France* contrary to the Truce, hath besieged and taken *Philipsburg* from the Emperor, hath robbed the Prince *Palatine* of his Dominions, ruined and laid waste his Country, demolished his Castles and other places, without having regard to his promises, or to the Articles of Capitulation; hath deprived the Arch-Bishop of *Mentz* of his Jurisdiction, Depopulated and Pillaged the Arch-Bishopricks of *Treves* and *Colen*, bombarded and beat down the Churches, and caused lamentable desolations in the Countries of those Catholick Princes, who have taken little or no care to oppose him, and what is very remarkable, he hath done all this without any Declaration of War.

But it may be objected that King *James II.* could not hinder the *French* from breaking the Truce, nor from invading the Dominions of the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire, since he was not then in a condition to defend himself against the Prince of *Orange*, and the *Hollanders*, who were preparing a great Fleet to attack him in his own Kingdom: It is true; but he might have prevented all these Misfortunes, if when he came first to the Crown he had adhered (as we have said) to his true Interest: which was to keep, 1. his Royal Word, and the Oath that he made to his Subjects

jects to protect them in their Religion and Liberties : and, 2. to compel *France* not to make void the Obligation of Treaties ; but by violating his Oath and Promises, he hath rendered the *Roman* Catholick Religion odious to Protestants; and even to the *Jews* and *Turks* ; for if Catholicks keep not their Word, who will confide in them ? What Protestant State will submit to a Catholick Prince, if he will have no regard to the promises that he hath made to his Subjects ? God Almighty who is the King of Kings, and only Universal Monarch of the whole World, always keeps his word, and fulfils his promises that he makes to Men ; and why should not Earthly Kings have respect to the Oaths and Promises that they have made to their People ? It is the Opinion of all Lawyers, that the mutual Oaths and Promises that Kings make to their Subjects, and Subjects to their Kings, are reciprocal, and that when one Party happens to violate them, the other is at liberty, and discharged from their Oath or Promise.

James II. by neglecting his true Interest, hath procured the Hatred of his People, who have invited the Prince of *Orange*, and upon his arrival forsaken him, and finding himself destitute of Subjects, hath been forced to retire out of his Kingdom; and thus by his ill Conduct he hath been the Author of his own fall, and might have caused the ruin of all his Catholick Subjects ; for if the Prince of *Orange*, and the *English* Protestants had not been more moderate, than the Catholicks are in those Countries where they are predominant ; all the Papists in *England* would have been put to the Sword, without sparing any Condition, Age, or Sex, after the same manner as the Protestants have been Massacred in divers parts of *Europe*; and this with so much the more ease, in regard they were but a Handful, in comparison of those whom they had abused with the Kings Authority, and crept into publick Offices on purpose to vex and torment : Nevertheless, none of them were Beaten nor Killed ; No, not so much as the Priests and Monks, tho they, especially the Jesuits, were prohibited by the Laws of the Land, to come into the Kingdom on pain of Death ; and tho they were fallen into their Hands, yet they received no hurt, but had Pass-ports granted to Transport themselves with all the safety and liberty imaginable.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Interest of all the Christian Princes and Estates, since the Elevation of the Prince of Orange to the Throne of England, and of the advantages that will accrue to them thereby.

Charles II. and *James II.* who were Brothers, and successively Kings of *England*, having forsaken their true Interest, blindly to follow that of *France*, have performed no Actions that redound to their Glory during their Reigns, but have been the cause of this great and formidable Elevation of *France*, that hath caused all *Europe* to tremble, and inspired their King with such arrogance, as to presume to prescribe Laws to the Sovereign Princes and Estates of Christendom, without sparing the Pope, or the Emperor, whom he hath treated as if they were his Vassals or Subjects. Under the Reign of *Charles II.* the King of *France*, broke the *Pyrenean* Peace, by depriving the Duke of *Lorrain* of his Country, who had been re-established therein by this Treaty, under pretence that he had made a secret League with the Emperor, which was affirmed contrary to all appearance of Truth ; for why should he treat with the Emperor, who was at Peace with the *French*, and had no intention to make a War against them ? He saw his Country altogether naked and open, all his fortified places were demolish-

ed before they were restored to him, and *Nancy* the Capital City was dismantled; therefore he could have no thoughts of a Rupture with *France*. This Prince thinking himself secure in the enjoyment of his Estates and Territories, by means of the Treaty of Peace, was amazed when he was told one Morning, that certain Troops were seen coming full speed against the City, and was obliged immediately to take Horse, and to save himself by Flight; after which he was informed, that the King of *France* had sent an Army to seize on his Person, and without proving the pretended Treaty with the Emperor, had a second time taken possession of his Country.

Furthermore under the Reign of *Charles II.* the King of *France* violated the *Pyrenean* Peace, by invading *Flanders* with a great Army without any cause, and without declaring War against *Spain*, and by taking seven or eight of their principal Places: Whereupon the *Spaniards* and the *Hollanders* having represented to the *English*, the Interest they had to prevent that Country from falling into the Hands of the *French*, a triple League was made between *England*, *Holland*, and *Sweden*, for the preservation of the *Spanish Netherlands*: However this Alliance lasting but three years, whereas it ought to have been perpetual, as soon as the Term was expired, the King of *France* drew off the *Swedes* and the *English* from the *Hollanders*, and declared War against the last, being enraged against them, because they had earnestly solicited the making of the League, and had hindered him from conquering all *Flanders*. And what is very surprizing, *Charles II.* who was engaged in this League, and whose interest required him to continue therein, was not content with declining it, but joined with *France* in the War against *Holland*; and these two Powers united, had almost overwhelmed these Estates, who were then very near sinking under the power of *France*.

The *English* are sensible at present, how much it hath turned to their advantage, that this Commonwealth hath subsisted; for if they had been ruined or subdued by the *French*, they could not have furnished the Prince of *Orange* with six hundred Vessels, and an Army of fifteen thousand Men to assist them to break those Fetters, with which they were lately threatened to be bound. These so great and signal Services ought to be engraven on Marble and Steel, to transmit the everlasting memory of them to Posterity; and this may serve as a powerful motive to *England*, always to preserve a strict Union and perpetual Peace with the Estates of *Holland*, and to maintain an amicable Correspondence with them, as if they were but one Nation and People, and they are so much the more obliged to it, in regard that they are all Christians, and reformed Christians, and call one another Brethren, as professing one and the same Faith.

Charles II. altho he was made Guarantee of the Peace of *Nimueguen* hath nevertheless suffered the *French* to break it at several times, and in divers manners, by permitting them in the midst of a full peace, to besiege and take the City of *Strasburg*, to seize on all *Alsatia*, and abundance of Cities, Towns, and Villages of *Flanders*, and on the Countries of many Princes of the Empire.

Lastly, *Charles II.* hath suffer'd during his Reign, the King of *France* to besiege, take and demolish the Castle of *Orange*, to Dismantle and Pillage the City, to plunder the Inhabitants, to put them to their Ransom, and to quarter Dragoons amongst them at discretion; and *James II.* since his accession to the Crown, hath permitted him to cause the Prince of *Orange* his Nephew, and Son-in-Law, to be cited to appear before the Parliament of *Paris* as his Vassal, to condemn him for default, to deprive him of his Principality of *Orange*, to dissolve and abrogate his Parliament, to compel his Protestant Subjects to go to Mass, to beat down the Churches, to put the Ministers in Prison, to incorporate the Principality of *Orange* with the Government of *Provence*, and

and to confiscate all the Lands and Castles that he possessed in the *Francbe Comté of Bourgogne*, and in those parts that were taken from the *Spaniards in Flanders and Brabant*: These two Kings in the mean time, tho they were the Uncles of this Prince, beheld all these unjust proceedings without being concerned or demanding reparation; which is a manifest proof, that they were the Slaves of *France*, having on all occasions adhered to the interest of that Nation, and letting them encroach what they pleased, tho they had both Power and Right to oppose them. And therefore the Christian Princes have lost nothing by the Exit of these two Kings, but on the contrary have gained very much by the advancement of the Prince of *Orange* to the Throne of *England*: A Prince that cannot be corrupted nor imposed upon, and this is a Truth well known to the *French*, who have often, but in vain attempted to shake his constancy by excessive Largeesses and fair Promises; and forasmuch as he is just, and a lover of true Glory, after he hath set *England* free from those Chains with which they were almost oppressed, he will employ all his Power to deliver *Europe* from the Slavery of *France*, and to re-establish all the deposed Princes in the possession of their Rights and Dominions; and the Catholick Princes shall find by experience, that *William III.* takes more care of their interests, than *Charles II.* and *James II.* ever did: And the Emperor and *Spain* never had so favourable an opportunity as this present, under the Reign of King *William*, to be revenged on the *French*, and to call them to an account for all the Injuries and abuses that they have put upon them for a long time, since we can see no other probable means, by which the deprived Princes may recover their Countries, that have been violently wrested out of their Hands by the *French*, but by the Aid and Assistance of this Monarch; therefore it is the Interest of all the Christian Princes to remain united with him, for if they cleave to his Interests, the Project of *France* concerning the Universal Monarchy of Christendom will fall to the Ground, and their pretensions to the Empire and to the Kingdoms, &c. of the King of *Spain* will vanish. The Princes of the Empire will be no longer under a fear of becoming their Vassals, nor the *Spaniards* of being their Subjects. Divine Providence will make this King an Instrument to put a stop to the boisterous proceedings of the *French*, and I believe also, to bring them down as low as they are now exalted.

The *English* begin already to taste the sweet Fruits of the accession of this Prince to the Crown, since they see their Laws re-established, the Liberties and Properties of the People restored, and their Religion maintained in its ancient Splendor and Vigour, and what is most admirable, and will be matter of Astonishment in all Ages, they have been delivered from an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power, that threatned their Country with ruin, and their Religion with extinction, without the effusion of Blood, and without any Disorders, Devastations, or Plunders committed by the Army of their Deliverer in the Places through which they passed. The *English* are a War-like Nation, and renowned for valour, as all the World knows; therefore there is no doubt but having so prudent and so valiant a King for their Head, their Glory will be diffused throughout the whole Universe, and their great Monarch will make himself the Arbitrator of *Europe*, and will establish Peace and Tranquillity in Christendom; thus *England* will become the Terror of their Enemies, and the support and defence of their Allies.

The United Provinces ought also to expect great advantages from this Revolution of *England*, for this Prince hath not formerly, and doth not still continue to execute the Office of Captain General, but to hold these two Nations together in a strict Union, to procure peace between them, to cause their Trade to flourish, to dispel Jealousies,

and

and to unite their Forces to defend one another against the common Enemy; if King William should resign his Office of Captain General of the *United Provinces*, and it should fall into the Hands of a Prince or General, that would neglect the Correspondence and Advice of the King of *England*, or if through Animosities or groundless Suspicions, a Division should happen between *England* and *Holland*, as *France* hath often endeavoured to procure, a Bloody War would soon ensue; but the King of *England* in keeping his Office of Captain General, will prevent Disensions from arising between these two Estates; and if he loves the *English* as his Subjects, he hath also a tender regard to the *Hollanders* as his good Friends and dear Country-men; and when any quarrels or differences shall be stirred up between the *English* and the *Hollanders*, he will always compose them, and cause justice to be done to the Party that suffered the Injury; and thus Traffick will be encouraged, and promoted in *Holland* as well as *England*, and these two Nations having the Dominion of the Seas, will not suffer the *French* to set out so much as one Vessel, and will hinder them from Trading in any part of the World; by the Union of the *English* and the *United Provinces*, the League that the King of *France* hath made with the King of *Siam*, to ruin the Commerce of the *Hollanders* in the *East-Indies*, will prove fruitless and ineffectual, and their Fleets being joined together, will drive the *French* out of *America*; who having lost their Trade, will not be able any longer to maintain such great Armies in the Field; and whereas they have formerly made inrodes into the Heart of *Holland*, the *Hollanders* assisted by the *English*, will carry their Arms into the very Bowels of *France*.

Altho the King of *England* is a very great Prince, yet the Office of Captain General of the *United Provinces* doth not derogate from his Grandeur and Dignity: *Alexander* the Great was King, and the Son of a King of *Macedonia*; however he despised not the Office that the *Grecians* conferred on him, of Captain General of their Arms, but esteemed it as an Honour: *Greece* at that time consisted of several Republicks, such as that of *Holland*: and the *Grecians* and *Macedonians* being Neighbours, had the *Persians* for their Enemies, who were very powerful and formidable, as the *French* are at this day, who are Enemies to the *English* and *Hollanders*. And tho this King is very potent, nevertheless the *Hollanders* ought not to fear, lest he should employ his power to ravish their Liberties, and to rob them of their Privileges; for since he hath hazarded his Estate, and exposed his Person to a thousand dangers, to deliver the *English* from that slavery with which they were threatned, and to cause their Liberties and Properties to be restored that had been unjustly taken from them; can it be imagined that he will make use of his Authority to deprive his Country-men of their Rights and Franchises? And after he hath so generously fought to rescue them from the Tyranny of *France*, would he forgetting all natural Affection to his own Country, and violating his Oath to God and them, take away their Liberties and Privileges, to bring them in Subjection to the Children of the Prince of *Denmark*, who are to succeed him if he shall happen to die without Issue? This Prince is too just, too wise, and too generous ever to be guilty of such a fault, and being most faithful to his Country, as appears by his former actions; he will not stain the Glory that he and his Predecessors have acquired of being the Defenders and Restorers of the publick Liberty.

The Emperor also hath reason to hope for great advantages by this Change in *England*; King William understands his interest, and that of *England* and *Holland* much better than his Uncles, *Charles II.* and *James II.* and since it is his interest to weaken the Power of *France*, there is no doubt but he will employ all his Forces, and those of his Allies to cause *Philipsburg* to be surrendered to his Imperial Majesty, and all that the *French* have taken from him since the Treaty of *Munster*. The

The Princes of *Germany*, and especially the four Electors of the *Rhine*, that have been dispossessed of their Territories, either altogether, or in part, by the *French*, contrary to the Law of Nations, and the Articles of the Truce, may conceive great hopes that the late Revolution in *England*, will be the cause of their re-establishment, and that Divine Providence will make use of this as an efficacious means to compel them to restore their Countries, and to give them satisfaction for the Damages they have sustained by the unjust War that they have raised, and still continue to Prosecute against them.

The King of *Sweden*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Prince of *Montbéliard*, and generally all the Princes and Estates of the Empire will then be re-established in all their Rights, Franchises and Priviledges, that *France* hath usurped from them: The Duchy of *Denx Pons* shall be surrendered to the King of *Sweden*, and the Duke of *Lorrain* shall recover all his Jurisdictions with their Dependences, and the *French* shall not be suffer'd to demolish the Fortresses that they have caused to be built therein, nor to reserve any to themselves, as they did by the *Pyrenean Treaty*.

The *Spaniards*, who in the last Wars have seen the Prince of *Orange* encountering the *French* in *Flanders*, for the defence of their Country, with the Arms of the Estates of the *United Provinces*, shall now behold him being King of *England*, fighting for them with puissant Armies; neither will he make peace, till he hath constrained the *French* to restore all that they have taken from them since the *Pyrenean Peace*, and all that they have usurped from the King of *Spain*, both in *Flanders* and *Burgundy*.

The *French* having seized on the *Franche Comté* of *Burgundy*, that belonged to *Spain*, have bridled the *Switzers* on that side, and have since almost locked them up, by the Fortrefs of *Huninguen*, which they have caused to be Built within a Cannon shot of *Bafil*; but if they will enter into a League with the Emperor and King *William III.* and their Confederates, they will be set at liberty, by causing the Fortrefs of *Huninguen* to be demolished, and the Country of *Gex*, and the Fort de *Lecluse* to be surrendered to them, to whom it appertained, as having taken it from the Duke of *Savoy* in the War that they maintained against him in the end of the last Age; but they yielded it contrary to their own interest to *Henry IV.* King of *France*, when he made Peace with that Duke, who in exchange for the *Marquisate of Saluces* granted *Bresse*, and his pretensions to the Country of *Gex*, to the *French*. But the *Franche Comté* being restored to *Spain*, the Fortrefs of *Huninguen* pulled down, and the Country of *Gex*, and the Fort de *Lecluse* being put into the possession of the *Canton of Berne*; the *Switzers* will have their Arms at liberty, and they and their Allies will be secure from the Insolencies and Invasions of *France*.

Altho King *William* is a good Protestant, yet he doth not hate the Catholicks, he hath fought for *Spain*, he hath used his utmost endeavours, when he was only General of the *Hollanders* to defend that Kingdom; he hath conferred Military Offices on divers Catholicks, nay, he hath entrusted them with the Government of the most important Places of the *United Provinces*; he loves and esteems all honest people of any Religion whatsoever. And I doubt not but he will cause the City and County of *Avignon* to be restored to the Pope, which the King of *France* hath unjustly usurped, and will oblige that Eldest Son of the Church, to yield her the Obedience and Respect that is due from him.

And that the *French* may not be able for the future to insult over the Pope, nor the Princes of *Italy*, the King of *England* will constrain them to surrender *Pignerol* to the Duke of *Savoy*, and *Casal* and *Monferrat* to the Duke of *Manina*, or to his Heirs and Successors, that it may not be again in their power to disturb the Peace and repose of *Italy*.

The

The Prince of *Orange* being King of *England*, and Captain General of the United Provinces; there is no Christian Prince that can contribute so much as he, to the humbling of *France*, but that the deposed Princes may soon recover the possession of their Rights, and that those whom the *French* threaten with Slavery or Destruction, may be exempted from fear; it is requisite that all the Christian Princes should afford all the Aid and Assistance they can to pull down this potent and interior Enemy of *Christianity*, who is so much the more formidable, in regard that he hath his Dominions situated in the middle of *Europe*, and holds a strict Amity and Correspondence with the *Turk*, the exterior Enemy of the Christians.

Forasmuch as the *French* are the only disturbers of the Peace and Tranquillity of *Christianity*, when all their Forces are defeated and broken, *Europe* will be at rest; the Christian Princes, even the most remote, will live in a profound peace, every one of them will quietly enjoy his own respective Rights and Jurisdictions; and since the *French* will not be able to procure great Sums of Money to induce the *Swedes* to raise a War against the *Danes*, nor to excite the *Danes* against the *Swedes*; these two Kings will not be embroiled by them; they will not be in a condition by excessive Largesses to corrupt the principal Counsellors of Princes, or the most considerable Ministers of Republicks to divide Princes or Estates; they will not send so many Ambassadors and Envoys by their Artifices to stir up jealousies, and to foment Dissentions and Animosities in other Countries. The *Polanders* will Elect their Kings without being molested in their Liberties and Suffrages, by the Stratagems and Intrigues of *France*, and the Prince of *Poland*, as he is the Heir of his Fathers Vertue and Valour, will succeed to the Crown without the help of the *French* King, whose interposition would without doubt prove more prejudicial than advantageous to him.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Artifices of France to hinder the Princes from enjoying the advantages that they might reap from the late Revolution of England.

THE King of *France* being certainly informed of the design of the Prince of *Orange* to pass over into *England* with an Army, by the Count d' *Avaux* his Ambassador in *Holland*, who failed not by the means of his Spies and Pensioners, to pry into the most secret transactions of the Council of the States General, as it appears by the Letter which he wrote to Cardinal d' *Estrees* at *Rome*, dated the 6th. of *September* 1688. about two Months before the embarking of the Prince; thought that he had found a very favourable opportunity to make himself Master of a considerable part of the Empire; he saw that the Forces of the Emperor and the Empire, were employed in *Hungary*, that *Philipsburg* and other places on the *Rhine*, were not provided with Garrisons, that part of the Troops of *Brandenburg*, *Lenuburg*, and *Hesse*, were passed into *Holland* to guard their Frontiers during the Expedition of the Prince of *Orange*, and therefore that the United Provinces could not send any relief to the Emperor and the Empire. He believed also that the Prince would not succeed in his Enterprize, because he had received an account from his Ambassador at *London*, that King *James* had a considerable Fleet at Sea, and an Army of thirty eight or forty thousand Men on Land, and he hoped that the Prince would be repulsed in his descent on the Island, that this would produce a perpetual War between *England* and *Holland*, which would enervate the Strength of these two Nations; and that forasmuch as the Emperor and the Empire,

could

could not be assisted by the United Provinces, their Forces being engaged elsewhere, nor by the *Swedes*, whose motions were obsequy by the King of *Denmark* his Ally, nor by the *Spaniards*, who were weak and at a great distance, he might triumphantly invade the Empire without any opposition, and so much the rather, because the Peace was not concluded with the *Turks*, which he obstructed, that *Hungary* being attacked by the Infidels, and the Empire on the side of the *Rhine* by the *French*, his Conquest might be easie.

The Design was not ill contrived, for the *French* in less than three Months took *Philipsburg*, and all the Places and Cities of the Palatinate, seized on *Spain*, *Wormes*, and *Mentz*, besieged and bombarded *Coblentz*, and would have made themselves Masters of all the Bishoprick of *Triers*, and also of that of *Colen*, if the Prince of *Orange* had not obtained success in his Expedition in *England*. And the *French* having made so great a Progress in so little time, it is probable that in one or two Campaigns, they would have subdued the whole Empire, and would have dispossessed the Emperor of all his Dominions in *Germany*: but the Revolution in *England* hath broken all their Measures, and put a stop to their Conquests, and violent motions, for as soon as their King understood that the Prince of *Orange* had taken possession of *England*, and was declared Prince Regent, and that King *James* was retired into *France*, he countermanded a great part of his Troops out of *Germany*, ceased from beleaguering and bombarding the Cities that remained on the *Rhine*, or on the Frontiers, and began to change his Battery, which was strenuously to endeavour to cause Divisions amongst the Princes and Estates.

He began with the United Provinces, and to draw them off from the Emperor and the Empire, and from the Interests of the Prince of *Orange*; he ordered all the Vessels belonging to these Estates that were in his Harbours, to be seized with their Effects, and the Pilots and Sea-men to be condemned to the Gallies, unless they would change their Religion; the *Hollanders* that travelled into *France* to be put into Prison, and caused several Villages in their Frontiers to be burnt, and after so many Outrages and Devastations, he declared War against them, not because they had furnished the Prince of *Orange* with Forces in his Expedition to *England*; but because they had joined their Troops under the Command of Prince *Waldeck*, with those of the Empire against the Cardinal of *Furstemburg*; but not long after he offered them a Peace on honourable Conditions, and added, that if they did not accept it, he would take the advantage of the Ice, and enter with an hundred thousand Men into the Heart of their Country, and would put all to Fire and Sword.

The Estates General of the United Provinces, courageously refused all the Propositions of *France*, and took all possible care to defend themselves against these Threats; to this end they recruited their Forces, and sent into *England*, to recall those that they had lent to the Prince of *Orange*.

The *French* King not being able to divert the *Hollanders* from adhering to the Interests of the Empire, made application to the Emperor, and to the Princes of the Empire, whom he had so lately deprived of their Dominions, and to take them off from *England* and *Holland*, he promised to restore *Philipsburg* to the Emperor, the Palatinate to their lawful Prince, and *Mentz* to the Arch-Bishop, to give the Duke of *Lorraine* the possession of his Country, and lastly, to let fall the Cause of the Cardinal of *Furstemburg*, provided they would join with him to pursue the War against the *Hollanders*, and to re-establish the late King of *England* in his Kingdoms.

The Emperor, and the Catholick Princes of the Empire, having seen the perfidiousness

ousness of the *French*, who without any provocation or reason had broken the Truce, and had committed innumerable Outrages and disorders in the Empire; would not hearken to their Offers; but generously rejected them; upon the whole matter, forasmuch as the *French* have in sundry particulars violated the Peace that they had made at *Nimueguen* with the Emperor and the Empire, broken the Truce that was to have lasted twenty years at the end of the fourth, and infringed the Articles of Capitulation that they had made with the Cities, that they had so lately taken in the Empire; the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire could make neither Peace nor Truce with them, since all their Treaties have tended only to delude and surprize them.

The fraudulent and violent proceedings of the King of *France*, having re-united the Christian Princes more than ever against his unjust designs, he thought fit to have recourse to the Pope, and would willingly have perswaded him, that the Protestants were united together to destroy the Catholick Religion; and that the Catholick Princes ought to make a League for the final Extirpation of those of the Protestants. Moreover he hath caused the Monks and Regulars to Preach throughout his whole Kingdome, and to publish in all the Dominions of the Catholick Kings and Princes, that the War which the Prince of *Orange* hath made against the King of *England*, was upon the account of Religion; that the Prince of *Orange* is an usurper of that Crown, and that the *English* are Rebels and Traitors to their King; all those Libels that are dispersed every where, are designed only to raise a War between the Catholick Princes and the Protestant, and the *French* make use of these Stratagems to preserve their Conquests, and to prevent their being compell'd by force to surrender what they have unjustly usurped within these thirty or forty years from their Neighbours.

But who hath begun the War, or broken the Truce? Is it not the King of *France*, that first sent his Troops into the Arch-Bishoprick of *Colen*, to create the Cardinal of *Furstemburg* Arch-Bishop of *Colen*, and Elector of the Empire by force of Arms; or rather to take possession of that Electorate, under the pretence of supporting the Interests of the Cardinal; as he seized on *Strasburg* after the peace of *Nimueguen*, under colour of establishing a Bishop there? Have the Canons of *Colen* desired any Troops of him to maintain their Suffrages? and if they had, are they his Subjects that he takes upon him to defend their Cause? By no means: Forasmuch as the Canons were not aggrieved, some having given their Votes for the Cardinal, and others for Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, the Nephew and Heir of the last Arch-Bishop; and since the whole Body of the Canons had referred the determination of this affair to the Pope, and the contending parties had consented to this Appeal, and were become Suiters to the Court of *Rome*, why did not the King of *France* acquiesce in the Decision of the Pope, and permit the Prince of *Bavaria* peaceably to enter upon the possession of the Arch-Bishoprick? If the Pope had no right to judge in this affair, the Canons would not have represented it to him, and the Cardinal, and the Prince of *Bavaria* would not have joined Issue thereupon; nor would have solicited in the Court of *Rome* to obtain a favourable judgment. However the King of *France* would not submit to the Determination of the Pope, given in favour of the Prince of *Bavaria*; but hath sent more Forces to the Cardinal to maintain him in the possession of the Arch-Bishoprick, contrary to the Popes Bull, and the intentions of the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire: This hath given occasion to the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire, as well Catholick as Protestant, to make a League together to put the Popes Bull in Execution against the Cardinal of *Furstemburg*, and the *Hollander* have entred therein, as having a remarkable Interest, that this Arch-Bishoprick should not fall into the Hands of a Prince devoted

to the Service of *France*. It is not ridiculous to affirm, that an Alliance made to maintain a Bull of the Pope in favour of a Catholick Prince, is a League against the Catholick Religion, because Protestant Princes have some join'd it, and join'd with the Catholick for the very same end and purpose.

The Decision of the Pope given in favour of the Prince of *Bavaria*, is just and equitable; for the Arch-Bishoprick and Electorate of *Colen*, hath been for a long time in the Family of *Bavaria*, and it is an usual custom, that when an Arch-Bishoprick, Bishoprick, or Abby is in the Family of any Prince or Lord, to preserve it therein, when there are young Princes or Lords of the same Race that may attain to it, and this is practis'd in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and other places. Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, is endow'd with all the qualifications requisite for this Dignity; he is a very sagacious and hopeful Prince; it is true, he is not above seventeen or eighteen years Old; but if the King of *France* hath bestow'd considerable Abbies and Prisons, on young Lords of Nine or Ten Years of Age; why will he not suffer a Prince of so illustrious a Family, at the Age of eighteen, to succeed his Uncle in the Arch-Bishoprick of *Colen*? Are there not Senior Canons enough prudent, and experienced in Affairs that may govern till he shall attain to a competent Age? 2. The Pope knew that the Cardinal of *Furstemburg*, was a Creature of *France*, and of a Turbulent Spirit, and he feared (not without reason) lest he should embroil the Empire, by endeavouring to cause it to fall into the Hands of the *French*, being long ago inform'd, that the King of *France* pretended a Right and Claim to it. Now it was a piece of Justice in the Pope, and his Duty, to maintain Peace and Union in the Empire, and to avoid those means that might cause Division and Discord.

It was also the apparent interest of the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire to prevent this Cardinal from being made Arch-Bishop of *Colen*; since it is well known, that he hath been for a long time a Creature of the *French*, that he obtained his Cardinals Cap at their Nomination, and that he was a sworn Enemy of the House of *Austria* and the Empire; therefore they had good grounds to fear, lest he being admitted into the College of Electors, by his Intrigues and Artifices, should cause great Disorders and Commotions in the Empire, and being passionately addicted to the Interests of the King of *France*, should deliver into his Hands all the Places that lie on the Rhine, belonging to the Electorate of *Colen*, which would be a detriment to the Emperor, and to the Princes of the Empire, as also to the *Hollanders*, because the *French* would intercept all Communication between the Empire and *Flanders*, and the United Provinces, to the great damage as well of the whole Empire, as of their Allies, both on the account of Trade and as to the mutual supplies that they are obliged to send one to another, in case the *French* should invade them.

The Pretences that the King of *France* alledgeth to defend the Cause of the Cardinal of *Furstemburg*, and to invade the Territories of the Prince *Palatine*, are very pleasant; for he saith in his Manifesto, that he cannot suffer the Cardinal to be deprived of the Electorate of *Colen*, for the Canons of their rights by force and violence, nor the Duchess of *Orleans* his Sister-in-Law of her just pretensions to the *Palatinate*, as the Successor of her Brother *Charles* late Elector *Palatine*; these are the principal motions that induced him to declare War against the Emperor, and the Prince *Palatine*; but if he takes up Arms for the sake of his Sister-in-Law; why doth he at the same time oppose the Prince of *Bavaria*, who is his Ally, the Brother of the *Dauphiness*, Brother-in-Law of the *Dauphin*, and Uncle to his Grand-Children, the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Anjou* and *Berry*, to take the part of the Cardinal of *Furstemburg*, who is

neither his Kinsman, Ally nor Subject. Hence it appears, that he knows no other Law, but that of his own Interest; and that that is the sole Spring of all his Actions.

Is it not an absurd and ridiculous thing for the French King, to break a Truce so solemnly ratified, and to violate the Law of Nations on account of the Rights of his Sister-in-Law, which might have been proved in a judicial way, and recovered without the effusion of Christian Blood? If the pretensions of this Princess were just, why would he not take this Course, rather than that of Arms? Whereas the Canons of *Colen* had referred the difference between the Cardinal of *Furstemburg*, and the Prince of *Bavaria*, to the Court of *Rome*; why would he not acquiesce in the Decision made by that Court? ought the Fire of War to be kindled throughout all *Germany* for this cause? Have the Canons implored his assistance to vindicate their Suffrages in favour of the Cardinal? They are Persons of much honest Principles, than to entertain any such thoughts against their Country and Sovereign Prince; the Appeal that they have unanimously made in this Case to the Court of *Rome*, sufficiently justifies their Conduct, and demonstrates their Innocence.

If the King of *France* was so much concerned for the Rights of his Sister-in-Law, having made himself Master of the *Palatinate*, and deposed the Prince *Palatine*, why did he not put it into the Hands of his Brother and Sister-in-Law, that they might keep it till such time as they had justice done them in their Pretensions? This Princess had desired the *Dauphin* not to bombard the City and Castle of *Heidelberg*; but to spare it because he was Born in that place, why then have the French (after they had taken full possession of the Country) against the Will of *Madam of Orleans*, and contrary to the Capitulations, Burnt and Demolished that Castle, and part of the City, Plundered and Robbed the Inhabitants, razed and burnt several Towns, laid waste the whole *Palatinate*, carried Fire and Sword every where, and committed such horrible Outrage, as the most cruel and barbarous Enemies never yet presumed to do the like.

Forasmuch as the King of *France* in his *Manifesto* complains only of the Emperor, and of the Prince *Palatine*; why was he not satisfied with the taking of *Philipsburg*, and the *Palatinate*, without carrying his Arms further? Wherein had the Cities of *Spire* and *Worms* offended him, that they must be besieged? What reason had he to force the Elector of *Mentz*, to receive a Garrison of French Troops into his Capital City? Upon what provocation did he give Orders to beleague and bombard *Coblentz*, that belongs to the Elector of *Triers*, and to depopulate his Territories, as also those of *Colen*, by putting all under excessive Contributions, Burning, Sacking, and Pillaging all the Countries that refused to pay what was demanded? Have the Electorates of the *Palatinate* of *Mentz*, *Triers* and *Colen*, opposed the promotion of the Cardinal, to the Arch-Bishoprick of *Colen*; or have they hinder'd the Prince *Palatine* from giving satisfaction to the Duchess of *Orleans* in her Pretensions? When the King of *France* besieged *Orange*, his pretence was, that he would restore the Place to the young Princess his Cousin, but the Event made it appear, that he designed only to ruin and demolish that Fortrefs, that was an Eye-sore to him as being in his Kingdom.

CHAP. XIII.

Wherein it is proved, that the Expedition of the Prince of Orange in England, is not a War upon the account of Religion.

FOrasmuch as the Prince of *Orange* hath passed into *England* with an Army, he undertook this Enterprize upon the Request and Invitation of the *English* Nation, and he went not into that Country to set up the Protestant Religion therein, but to defend the same against those that had begun to oppress it, by abusing the Kings Authority: Moreover the end of his Voyage was to maintain and defend the Laws of the Kingdom, that were almost subverted, and to cause the Rights, Liberties, and Privileges of the People to be restored, of which they had been deprived for some time; and lastly to procure a free Parliament to be assembled, that might take care for the future, that the Laws of the State might be no more violated, nor the Religion that hath been established for above an hundred years, invaded or changed, and that the Liberties and Properties of the Subjects might be preserved, and the whole Nation from falling hereafter under an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, such as was intended to have been introduced. These are the Motives that obliged this Prince to go into *England*; and since his Progress tended to the good and great advantage of the whole Kingdom, he hath been received with the general applause and joyful Acclamations of all the People.

The Expedition of the Prince, cannot pass for a War on the account of Religion in the judgment of any reasonable Person; for against what Religion hath he made War? Not against the *Roman* Catholick, since that was not as yet established, and the *Papists* had no Laws that maintainted them in the free exercise of their Religion, or admitted them into publick Offices; on the contrary they were excluded from them by the Statutes made under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and confirmed under those of King *James I.* *Charles I.* and *Charles II.* And the Prince of *Orange* hath not deprived them of any privilege or advantage, that hath been granted to them by Parliaments, and by the Kings that have Reigned since the Reformation in *England*; neither hath he compelled them to renounce their Religion, nor molested or harrassed them with Soldiers, tho they had abused the Authority of King *James II.* and were become odious to the Protestants, by their insolent carriage towards them, when they had the power in their Hands, but he hath protected them from injuries, and from all manner of violence.

Neither hath this Prince brought over the Protestant Religion into *England*, inasmuch as it hath been settled there one hundred and forty years, before he Landed with his Army, and hath been always predominant ever since. King *James II.* indeed used his utmost endeavours to re-establish the Catholick Religion, but had made but very little Progress; for after all the care and pains, that he took during the four years that he Reigned, he could not obtain in *England* nor *Scotland*, so much as one Parish-Church, nor that the Priests and Monks should appear publicly in their Habits. All the Churches, as well Cathedral as Parochial, always remained in the possession of the Protestants. Furthermore, the late King *James* by taking the Publick Offices out of the Hands of the Protestants, and substituting *Papists* in their places, by introducing Catholick Doctors, and Professors into the Universities, by undertaking to abrogate the Penal Laws and Test, that disabled all *Papists* from managing any publick Employ-

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ments, and by committing divers other irregularities too tedious here to relate, hath procured his own ruin : for the *English* fearing lest he should overturn their Religion, as *Queen Mary* had done, and should set up an Arbitrary Government, have called the Prince of *Orange* to assist them, to defend and uphold their Religion and Laws.

Queen Mary in less than four years changed the Religion in *England* ; but the Papists were deceived in believing that King *James II.* might as easily do the like ; for when *Queen Mary* came to the Crown, the *English* had not embraced the Protestant Religion above four or five years, all the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops had been Papists ; all the Ministers had been Priests, and lately officiated at Mass, they retained as yet a Tincture of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and were not well grounded and instructed in the Protestant : On the contrary, when King *James II.* ascended the Throne of *England*, the Protestant Religion had flourished in that Kingdom, for the space of above one hundred and twenty years, and the *English* People had been trained up, and educated therein from Father to Son. for three or four Generations successively ; inasmuch that the present State of Affairs Ecclesiastical and Civil, is very different from the former. Moreover the late King having urged some of his Lords to turn Papists, giving them their choice, either to embrace the *Roman* Catholick Faith, or to quit their Places, they generously chose rather to abandon their Offices and Preferments, than their Religion, by which he might have plainly seen, that it was dangerous to Harp on that String. Neither could any King of *England* compel his Subjects by force to change their Religion, as the King of *France* hath done, by reason that in *England* and *Scotland*, there are two hundred Protestants for one Papist, and it would not be easie to send for Forces from *France*, since the whole Nation would oppose it ; and in case twenty thousand Men, (which is all that a great Fleet can transport) should enter upon the Island, all *England* and *Scotland* would immediately rise up in Arms, and nothing would be seen but Rivers of humane Blood ; And it is probable, that the Protestants in the Kings Army would desert him, and go over to their Country-men, as they did at the Arrival of the Prince of *Orange* ; and thus the Catholics by endeavouring to promote their Religion, would not find their expected advantage, but their utter ruin and destruction.

It is a Right common to all People to make Laws for their own Preservation, and to enjoy certain Liberties and Privileges : The *English* are a free Nation, that never could be brought under Bondage ; they have their Laws, that have been enacted by Kings and Parliaments together, and these Laws cannot be altered, but by the joint consent of the King and Parliament ; the King alone nor his Council cannot infringe them, they have also several peculiar Rights, Liberties, and Privileges : The Prince of *Orange* at their request came over into *England*, to re-establish their Laws, to restore to every individual Person his Right and Property, and to cause a free Parliament to be called, which are purely matters of State, and not of Religion ; and he himself having a Right to the Crown, as a Prince of the Royal Blood was interested in the preservation of the Laws, Liberties, and Privileges of the Country.

It is matter of astonishment, that the *French*, who have been the Authors of so much mischief, and damage to the Catholick Princes, and to the Catholick Religion, should go about to persuade the World, that the present Revolution in *England*, is a War on the Score of Religion. It is known to all *Europe*, that under the Reign of *Lewis XIV.* the *French* made a League with *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, and *Charles I.* King of *England* to re-establish the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, against the Emperor *Ferdinand II.* and to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion, since this Emperor had by

by the Law of Arms taken possession of the Territories of these Princes, and had caused the Catholick Religion to be settled therein: Now the Protestant Princes could not recover their Dominions, but to the great detriment of his Imperial Majesty, who was a Catholick Prince, and also of the Catholick Religion, since it was a means to extinguish it in those places, where it had been re-established by his Arms; and thus France made an open War against the Catholick Religion, by this Alliance with Sweden and England.

We might also produce the several Leagues that Francis I. Henry II. and Henry IV. Kings of France have made with the Protestant Princes, to the prejudice of the Catholick Princes and of that Religion: but all these are nothing in comparison of the Evils that Lewis XIV. hath brought upon the Catholick Religion.

None can be ignorant that the present Emperor Leopold, had caused the Exercise of the Protestant Religion to cease in his Kingdom of Hungary, as the King of France hath done in his, since the year 1685. he ordered the Churches of the Protestants to be shut up, all their Ministers to be banished or imprisoned, the Catholick Religion to be established throughout all Hungary, and the Protestant to be interdicted. What course doth Lewis XIV. take upon this? He sends great Sums of Money to Count Tekelley, the Chief of the Hungarian Protestants, who by this means levied Troops in Poland, and Transylvania, entered into Hungary, and having joined his Forces with the Protestants of that Country, routed and defeated the Imperial Army, took possession of Hungary, caused himself to be proclaimed King; re-established the Protestant Religion there, and prohibited the Exercise of the Catholick. Thus we have seen the famous Exploits of Lewis XIV. the Eldest Son of the Church, he assists in the depriving a Catholick King of his Kingdom, to set up a Protestant Prince, who banisheth the Catholicks and their Religion out of the Country. I shall leave it to the judgment of all good Catholicks, whether the King of France in giving Supplies to Tekelley, did not commence a War against the Catholick Religion.

Lewis XIV. after he had set a Protestant Prince on the Throne of Hungary, to complete the Misfortunes of the Catholick Religion, makes a League with the Grand Signior, and obliges him to break the Truce that he had made with the Emperor, three or four Months before the Term was expired, and to carry his Arms into the Empire; whereupon after a Declaration of War, he sent the Grand Visier to besiege the City of Vienna, with an Army of above an hundred thousand Men, who committed great devastations in the Empire, and reduced Vienna to the last extremity, and without the assistance of the King of Poland, this Imperial City, and all Austria, would have fallen into the Hands of the Infidels. But what doth the King of France in the mean time? To facilitate the Turks in the taking of Vienna, and in the Conquest of Austria, he orders a potent Army to march towards the Frontiers of the Empire, to keep the Princes and Estates of the Rhine in awe, and to hinder them from sending their Forces to the relief of Vienna.

Whilst the Emperor was engaged in the Wars of Hungary against the Protestants and the Turks, the King of France picks a quarrel with the Genoeses, and without any cause or provocation, caused their City to be bombarded, and horrible Outrages to be committed therein. In like manner during the Peace of Nimueguen, he blocks up Luxembourg, turns the Blockade into a formal Siege, takes the City, and Burns, and Pillages the Spanish Netherlands; thus you have seen how he treats the Catholick Princes and Estates; but to flupise, and make them insensible after he hath been the Author of all these Calamities that have befallen them, that he may take other opportunities to sur-
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prize them ; he undertakes two things, the first is, to make a Truce for twenty years, and the second to persecute the Protestants of his own Kingdom, *viz.* to demolish their Churches, to forbid the Exercise of their Religion, and to abandon them to the fury and cruelty of his Dragoons, to cause them to change their Religion ; hoping by this means to recover the reputation of being a good Catholick, which he had lost by assisting the Protestants of *Hungary*, and by encouraging the *Turks* against the Emperor. And after he hath broken the Treaties that he made with Foreign Princes, he forbears not to violate all the Edicts that his Predecessors had granted in favour of the Protestants of his own Kingdom, which he himself had also confirmed ; neither was it a Zeal for the Catholick Religion, that induced him to treat his Protestant Subjects after this manner, but his insatiable Ambition ; Father *La Chaise* his Confessor, and Father *Maimbourg*, both Jesuits, having assured him, that by extirpating the Protestants out of his Dominions, he would render his Name and Memory immortal, because he would do more than his Predecessors were able to perform. These violent and disorderly proceedings of the King of *France*, make it appear to all the World, that he doth not act by a principle of Religion, but only for the promoting of his own particular interest, or vain Glory.

This is plainly evident, in regard that having destroyed and dispersed the Protestants of his Kingdom, he returns to harass, and raise War against the Catholick Princes ; he begins with the Pope, who seeing the abuses that were committed in *Rome*, on account of the Franchises of the quarters of the Ambassadors that resided therein, published a Bull by which he revoked these Franchises, that one of his Predecessors had granted to them, to the great prejudice of Justice, and of the publick good ; all the Princes acquiesced in this Bull, except the King of *France*, who to disturb and vex His Holiness, and to give Law to him in *Rome*, the Capital City of his Dominions, makes use of this pretence of the *Franchise*, thinking thereby to humble him, or to oblige him for the future, or his Successors to submit to all that he shall think fit to require.

If we examine the difference that hath happened between the Court of *Rome*, and that of *France*, in the matter of the Franchises, and if we take a fair prospect thereof without passion or prejudice, we shall find the Popes Bull to be most just, and that his Conduct in this Affair hath been very reasonable : It ought to be considered, 1. That the Pope is as much Sovereign in *Rome*, as the King of *France* is in his Kingdom ; now if the King of *France* hath a power in his Kingdom, to take away the *Regalia*, to which the Pope had a Right, and which his Predecessors have enjoyed for many Ages ; hath not the Pope the like Authority in *Rome*, to abrogate a Privilege which his Predecessors had granted to the Ambassadors of *France* ? The Pope had an interest in the Preservation of the *Regalia*, because he reaped profit thereby, and by this means gathered a great deal of Money into his Coffers ; but the King of *France* had no interest in the Continuation of these Franchises, since he gained no profit or advantage thereby. 2. It was a Shame and Scandal to the Catholick Religion, that all manner of Criminals, and profligate Wretches should find in *Rome*, which is called the Holy, and is the Seat of the Chief Priest of Christendom, not one, but many places of refuge ; to wit, in all the Quarters of the Ambassadors of Sovereign Princes. 3. It is highly Derogatory from the Authority of the Pope, not to be able to execute Judgment against, nor to punish Offenders in the Capital City of his Territories, since by the means of this privilege, they escaped from the Hand of Justice : And how I pray would it be taken at *Paris*, if all the Ambassadors of Princes that reside there, should claim

claim a like privilege of keeping a Sanctuary for Robbers, Assassins and Murderers ? 4. The Pope might lawfully take away the privilege of the Franchises from the *French Ambassador*, and yet let the other Ambassadors enjoy it, since every one is Master of his own, or at least ought to be so ; but to shew that he had no private Grudge or Animosity against *France*, he likewise deprives all the Ambassadors of other Princes in general, by his Bull. Lastly, whereas the King of *France* calls himself the Eldest Son of the Church, it is most just and reasonable that he should submit to the Will of the Church, and should permit her to enjoy her peculiar Rights, especially since he received no damage thereby, and would lose nothing by letting fall this privilege.

As for the Popes Conduct, it hath been very regular in this Affair, 1. He could not but maintain a Bull that he had exhibited upon so good and solid reasons. 2. He could not acknowledge nor receive as an Ambassador, a Person that came attended with a Guard of five hundred Men, Officers or private Soldiers, to compel him by force or threats to make void his Bull, or to insult over him in his Capital City. Ambassadors are usually dispatched to desire Peace, or the Amity of those to whom they are sent, or at least to sollicite the Continuation or Preservation thereof ; but this Ambassador being sent on another Errand, and for a different end ; it is no wonder, since he would have been Master in *Rome*, that the Pope should Excommunicate him, he might justly have caused him to depart out of his Dominions, but he was content only to defend himself from his insolencies, that he might not presume to do the same to him, as *Nogaret* the *French Envoy* did to one of his Predecessors.

Since the King of *France* was so much concerned in the Interests of *James II.* late King of *England* ; why did he not assist him, in regard he might easily have done it ? There was no necessity of setting out a great Fleet to transport his Forces over the Sea ; he might only have caused one of his Armies to advance to the Frontiers of the *United Provinces*, to hinder the Prince of *Orange* from passing into *England* ; if he had done this, the Estates General could not have lent him their Troops as they did, they would have had occasion to keep them for the defence and preservation of their own Country ; and his Highness not having Forces sufficient for his Expedition, would have remained in *Holland*, and not have disturbed King *James*, till he could find a more favourable opportunity.

Moreover the King of *France* hath been so far from hindering the Prince of *Orange* from going into *England*, that he hath favoured his passage, and given him time to perform what he hath done without fear, by drawing off his Armies from the Frontiers of *Holland*, and sending them to fight against the Catholick Princes ; viz. one against the Pope, which seized on the City and Country of *Avignon*, and two in *High Germany*, to besiege *Philipsburg*, and to deprive the Electors of the *Palatinate*, *Mentz*, and *Triers* of their Territories, by beleaguering, bombarding, and taking their Places, ruining and depopulating their Countries, and carrying Fire and Sword wheresoever they passed. And after so many Calamities that he hath brought on the Catholick Princes and their Countries, he cries out, that King *James* ought to be assisted, and re-established in his Kingdom, and belcheth out nothing but Fire and Flames against the States General, and the Prince of *Orange*, most bitterly reviling and railing against them, and earnestly solliciting the Catholick Princes, (tho to no purpose) to make a League against King *William*, and the *United Provinces* ; but they are very sensible, that it is not any kindness to King *James*, that causeth him to talk at this rate, but his own private interest, and a Dread lest he should be forced to restore all that he hath unjustly usurped from his Neighbours, as well Catholick as Protestant.

If King *William* would hearken to the King of *France*, to make a Peace with him, on condition that the Protestants might be re-established in his Kingdom, or to enter into a League with him to declare War against *Spain*, and to divide the Conquest of *Flanders* betwixt them; he would not only quit the Interest of the late King *James*, but would cause him to go out of his Dominions, without affording him the least Aid or Relief directly or indirectly, as he did in the time of *O. Cromwell*, with whom he made a League Offensive and Defensive, and drove King *Charles II.* and his Brother the Duke of *York*, at present *James II.* out of his Kingdom, who being the Son of a Daughter of *France*, and Cousins German to the King, hoped that he would assist them with all his Forces, in the recovering of the Crown of *England*, &c. But they soon found themselves deceived in their Expectations, for he shamefully abandoned them, and they were compelled to depart, and to retire into *Flanders*, where they subsisted as well as they could, on a small Pension that the King of *Spain* allowed them.

Thus it appears, that *Lewis XIV.* never acts but for the promoting of his own private interest, and hath made use of that of the Dukes of *Orleans* against the Prince *Palatine*, only as a pretence to invade his Territories, and that his counterfeited Zeal in the Affairs of the late King *James*, is but a Stratagem to preserve his Conquests, and not to re-establish him in his Dominions, as he would make the World believe. And it is not to be thought, that *William III.* King of *England*, will make any Peace or Truce with him, till he shall be reduced to a more moderate State, and shall have surrendered to the Emperor, and the King of *Spain*, all that he hath taken from them: Forasmuch as it is the apparent interest of the *English* to humble *France*, and since it is in their power at present to take a full revenge for the Injuries and Affronts that they and all their Allies have received from them.

CHAP. XIV.

Wherein it is proved, 1. That King *William* is not an Usurper of the Crown of *England*, but a true and lawful King. 2. That the *English* People are not Rebels nor Traitors to their King, as the Emissaries of *France* falsely affirm.

KING *James II.* having violated the Oath that he took at his accession to the Crown, to maintain the Protestant Religion, to preserve the Laws of the Land, and the Liberties and Properties of the Subjects, is by this means fallen from the Crown, and hath renounced it, because on these Conditions he ascended the Throne of *England*, and without this Stipulation and Agreement, he never would have swayed the Royal Scepter. Moreover it was upon consideration of this Breach of his Oath, that the Parliamentary Convention, after his departure out of *England*, declared that *James II.* late King of Great Britain, had abdicated or renounced the Crown, by endeavouring with all his Power to abolish the Protestant Religion, to subvert the Laws of the Kingdom, and to deprive his Subjects of their Rights, Liberties, and Privileges, contrary to his Royal Promise, and to the solemn Oath that he took at his coming to the Crown, and consequently that the Throne was vacant, and ought to be filled by another.

After the desertion of King *James*, the *English* Lords, as well Spiritual as Temporal, being assembled together in a considerable Body in the City of *London*, to take care of the Affairs of the State, as their Interest and Duty obliged them; with one accord declared the Prince of *Orange* Regent of the Kingdom, and entreated him to take

take upon him the Administration of the Government, and allotted for his use the publick Revenues of the Crown; whereupon his Highness, by vertue of the Authority entrusted to him as Prince Regent, by his Letters summoned a Convention or Parliamentary Assembly; and there never was an Assembly more free than this, every one delivered his Opinion without fear or constraint; neither was the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve in this Convention by any means disturbed, since almost the same Representatives were chosen as served in the last Parliament, that was Convened in the Reign of King *Charles II.* at which time the Prince of *Orange* was not in *England*, and then there was no Discourse of his Interest or Right to the Crown; therefore it cannot be said, that this Parliamentary Assembly, or any of the Members thereof were corrupted, or molested, or in the least influenced by his Highness. This Convention being assembled according to all the usual Forms requisite in the like Cases, several Debates and Questions were moved, and after a Mature Deliberation, whether the Throne was vacant or not, and whether King *James* by withdrawing himself out of the Kingdom, had simply deserted it, or had absolutely renounced the Crown; it was carried by the Plurality of Votes, that forasmuch as *James II.* had endeavoured to change the Religion, and to subvert the Laws of the Kingdom, to deprive his Subjects of their Liberties and Privileges; and to set up an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, he had abdicated the Crown; and it was ordered that the Prince and Princess of *Orange* should be proclaimed King and Queen of *England*, which was accordingly done, to the great Joy, and general satisfaction of the whole Nation.

Forasmuch as the Throne of *England* was vacant, it was requisite that it should be filled, which could not be done but by the Persons of the Prince and Princess of *Orange*; for one of them was the first Prince of the Royal Blood, and the other the first Princess; they both spring from the same Stock, one was the Grand-son of *Charles I.* and the Nephew of *Charles II.* late Kings of *England*, and the other was the Grand-daughter and Niece of the same Kings; it is true indeed, that the Princess was descended from a Brother, and the Prince from a Sister; but such a Sister as would have been preferred before the Brother, if she had been living at the Death of King *Charles II.* because she was a Protestant, and her Brother a Catholic. Now by the Law of the Country, Catholics (as hath been before observed) are excluded from the Crown without any Exception or Restriction whatsoever, and whereas this is a general Law, and there is no particular one whereby Kings are exempted; it follows that all Catholic Princes are debarr'd from the Crown by this Law, and can have no pretensions to it. Moreover the King of *England* is the Head of the *English* Church, and this being a Protestant Church, the King must of necessity be a Protestant, because in all Societies in the World, the Head is a Member of the Society; now the Head must be of the same Nature as the Members, otherwise the Body would be monstrous. However inasmuch as the *English* have advanced *James II.* to the Throne, notwithstanding he was a Catholic; it was a peculiar favour that they conferred on him, and only on condition that he should uphold the Protestant Religion, preserve the Laws of the State inviolable, and maintain the Rights, Liberties, and Privileges of the People; but since this Prince hath broken the Conditions, under which he received the Crown, he hath consequently excluded himself by his own default.

The Proceedings and Carriage of the *English* towards their late King *James II.* makes it appear to all the World, that the Libels which the *French* Scriblers have written and dispersed abroad against them, and against *William III.* their lawful King, are scandalous Invektives, and pure Calumnies; for they might easily have prevented

James II. from ascending the Throne without being accounted Rebels, since he was excluded by the Law, and they were strong enough to keep the Passage shut against him, there being in *England* two hundred Protestants to one Papist: But in regard the *English* Protestants have voluntarily admitted him, tho he was a Catholic, they have thereby made manifest the profound respect, and extraordinary good will that they bore to the Princes of the Royal Blood, since contrary to their Laws, they have given the Crown to one that was a Catholic. Did the Catholics of *France* treat *Henry IV.* who was a Protestant after the same manner? Not in the least, on the contrary they obliged him to clear the Way to the Throne by fighting many Battels; and after he had vanquished and defeated his Enemies, they refused to acknowledge him as their King, till he had embraced the Catholic Religion. There was no Law in *France* that excluded the Protestant Princes from the Crown; nay, by the Edicts of *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* the Protestants were indifferently admitted to publick Offices with the Catholics; but as we have already said, there are Laws in *England* that oblige Catholic Princes from that Crown. There were many more Protestants in *France*, when *Henry IV.* ascended the Throne, than there were Catholics in *England* at the time of the Elevation of *James II.* and consequently *Henry IV.* might better maintain his right and pretensions to the Crown of *France*, than *James II.* could his, to that of *England*.

H. The Prince of *Orange* was the Deliverer of the *English* Nation, since he hath rescued them from the Power of a King, that established an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, subverted their Laws, and endeavoured with all his Might to extirpate, and destroy their Religion: Now in all Kingdoms, where there have been Kings that have abused their Authority, by overturning the Laws of the State, and by depriving their Subjects of their Liberties and Privileges; the Person that hath set them free from this Bondage, hath been often set on the Throne, and hath possessed the Place of him that was deposed; and of this there are innumerable Examples in History; I shall only produce some few out of the Annals of *England*. The first is that of *Richard II.* the Son of the Valiant *Edward*, surnamed the Black Prince, who with an handful of *English* Soldiers, defeated the Army of *France*, consisting of 60000 Men near *Poitiers*, and took King *John* Prisoner; this *Richard* having succeeded his Grand-father *Edward III.* made ill use of the Royal Authority; he imposed Taxes and Subsidies upon the People without an Act of Parliament; and caused several Members of both Houses that opposed him to be put in Prison; whereupon *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* having raised an Army whilst the King was in *Ireland*, took him Prisoner at his return, and called a Parliament; before which King *Richard* was accused of divers misdemeanours in Government, for which he was declared unworthy of the Crown, and *Henry IV.* that had taken him, was set on the Throne. The second is the example of *Henry VI.* who permitted the Queen and her Favourites to rule according to their humour and pleasure, insomuch that the People were very much dissatisfied with this Government, as not being consonant to the Laws of the Kingdom, and at last these Discontents broke out into a Civil War; wherein after divers Battels, King *Henry* was dispossessed of the Crown, which was given to *Edward IV.* Duke of *York*, who had taken him Prisoner. The third Example is, that of *Richard III.* who to make way to the Crown, caused his two young Nephews, *Edward V.* and his Brother, barbarously to be Murdered in the Tower of *London*. Not long after this, *Henry VII.* Duke of *Richmond* levied Forces against him; defeated him in Battel, and was Proclaimed and Crowned King of *England* in his stead. These three Kings have been set beside the Throne, for less faults than those of *James II.* which I shall not here insist on, since it is not my design to make an Apology for the *English* Nation

Nation, or King *William III.* they are furnished with more able and learned Writers, that will not fail to do it; in the mean time I hope it will not be taken amiss, if I add some things that may serve to detect the Malice of the *French* Scribes. It is worth the observing, that these Kings that were Dethroned for abusing their Power, had attempted nothing against Religion, which is a very nice point, because they were all three of the same Religion, as their Subjects. And that *Henry VI.* was not the nearest of Kin to the Crown, but *Earl Richard*, who was descended of the Eldest Son of *Henry III.* and *Henry VI.* had a Son that was also deprived of the Crown at the same time when his Father was.

III. The Order of Succession is not so sacred, as that it ought to be inviolable; when the good of the State required it, or the People thought fit to alter it, a Scruple of Conscience was never raised about it. The Succession from Father to Son, was usual in the Kingdoms of the *Jews*, as well as in that of *England*; nevertheless we find, that neither the one nor the other was always preserved; *Saul* their first King left several Children when he died, and yet not one of them succeeded his Father; *David* who was of another Tribe and Family, was his Successor; *David* also had many Sons older than *Solomon*, however he succeeded his Father *David*, to the Exclusion of *Adonijah*, and the rest of his elder Brethren. In *England*, *William the Conqueror* at his Death left three Sons; *Robert*, *Henry*, and *William*; and *William* the youngest was preferred before his Brethren, and succeeded his Father; *William II.* after he had Reigned Eleven Years, died without Issue, and his Brother *Henry* succeeded him to the Exclusion of *Robert* his eldest Brother. This *Henry* Reigned twenty five years, and left a Daughter named *Matilda*, who was Married first with the Emperor *Henry IV.* and afterwards with the Duke of *Norm*, she had no Children by her first Marriage, but several by her second; and altho in *England*, Women are admitted to the Succession, for default of Male Heirs, nevertheless she did not succeed her Father, who used his utmost endeavours to leave her the Crown, but *Stephen* her Nephew, the Son of her Sister, ascended the Throne, and Reigned nineteen years. *John* succeeded *Richard I.* to the prejudice of *Arthur* Duke of *Britany*, on whom the Crown of *England* devolved by right of Succession. The People of *Israel*, were a Holy and peculiar People of God, and the *English* were Christians; nevertheless they had not always a respect to the Right of Succession, but have transferred it to whom they thought fit. The *French* also have had less regard to the order of Succession than the *English*, since they have taken away the Crown from those that were the lawful Successors, and given it to *Peppin* and *Hugh Capet*, who were not Princes of the Blood, but only chief Ministers of State, and consequently had no right to it; but the *English* have always given the Crown of *England* to Princes of the Royal Blood; and when they bestowed it on *William III.* they gave it to the first Prince of the same Blood, and to *Mary* the eldest Daughter of the Deposed King, that should have succeeded him; moreover they have given it to the Deliverer of their Country, and to a Prince that hath hazarded his Life, Estate and Honour, to preserve their Religion, Laws, and Privileges, and to prevent them from falling under an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power.

IV. The Prince of *Orange* saw, that King *James* his Father-in-Law had tried the Patience of the *English* to the utmost, and that they were ready to rise up in Arms against him, as the Event made it appear; for besides that several Lords went over into *Holland*, to solicit him to come into *England* with an Army, if he would preserve the Right, that the Princess and himself had to the Crown: when his Highness was arrived in *England*, and had given notice by his Declaration, that he came to cause a

free

free Parliament to be assembled, to maintain the Religion, and Laws of the Country, and to restore to the People their Rights, Liberties, and Privileges, of which they had been deprived; some joined with him, and others would not fight against him. If the Prince of *Orange* had not passed into *England*, all things being thus disposed for an Insurrection, perhaps some Noble Lord, considerable for his Rank and Merit, would have excited the People to take up Arms, whereupon a Civil War would have ensued, which would have caused great Convulsions in the State, and this he might have easily done, if he had proposed as the Prince of *Orange* did, to cause a free Parliament to be called, to defend and uphold their Religion, and Laws, that were oppressed, and to re-establish the Liberties, and Properties of the Subjects; it is certain that such a Lord would have been followed by the greatest part of the People, and after the Effusion of abundance of Blood, would have undoubtedly made himself Master of the Crown and Kingdom, as *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, and the young *Duke of York* have done heretofore; who both got possession of the Crown of *England*, and took Prisoners *Richard II.* and *Henry VI.* that were afterwards massacred in *Brown*, or as *Oliver Cromwell* did in the Reign of King *Charles I.* who put that Prince to Death by the Hands of an Executioner, and seized on his Crown under the Title of Protection, to the detriment of his lawful Successors. The Prince of *Orange* was informed by History, that when Kings are dethroned for abusing their Authority, their Children and lawful Successors are also commonly deprived; and that if they do recover their Fathers Crown, they get it not till after the Death of him that deposed him; and this happens but seldom, and when the Usurper is also become odious, by exercising a Tyrannical Power: Wherefore his Highness seeing, that his Father-in-Law, by his ill administration of the Government, was going about to ruin himself and the Kingdom, and to frustrate the Succession of his Children; had good reason to go into *England* to prevent the Mischiefs, that such a Conduct might bring upon the Nation, the King, and his Posterity. And if a Child hath a Power by Law to resist a Father, that shall go about to ruin an Inheritance that is to descend to him; how much greater right hath a Son-in-Law to oppose a Father-in-Law, that would destroy a whole Kingdom, in which as well his Wife as himself hath a Title after his decease? Furthermore his Highness in performing what he hath done, hath acted as a great Prince ought in Conscience to do; he hath preserved a Kingdom, to the Government of which he had a Right to succeed; he hath prevented a Civil War from breaking out thereon, that would have caused abundance of innocent Blood to be spilt, ruined so many Families, laid waste so many Countries, and brought an infinite number of Mischiefs and Calamities both general and particular upon the State; he hath by this means saved King *James* his Father-in-Law, and preserved the Crown for his lawful Children; for if he had been under the Power of any other Deliverer of the Country, he would perhaps have miserably perished in a Prison, or suffered some violent Death, but being fallen into the Hands of the Prince of *Orange*, he hath by an extraordinary and peculiar Clemency, preserved his declared Enemy, whom he might have destroyed; being his Prisoner, he set him at liberty, and gave him Guards to defend his Person, lest he should be torn in pieces, or assassinated by the enraged Multitude, caused him to be conducted and guarded wheresoever he had a mind to go, and only as long as he thought fit, hath he hath secured the Crown for the Princesses his Daughters, since the Princess of *Orange* hath ascended the Throne at the same time, and jointly with the Prince her Husband; and the Princess of *Denmark* is to succeed her Sister, in case she dies without Issue, after the Decease of the Prince of *Orange*; and thus the Kingdom of *England*; and their

King

King *James II.* are obliged to his Highness for their Preservation, as also the Princesses since he hath prevented them from being deprived of the Right that they had to the Crown.

V. The Prince of *Orange* hath saved the Nation, preserved the Crown in the Royal Family, re-established the freedom of Parliaments, restored to the City of *London*, and to the other Cities and Corporations of the Kingdom, their Rights, Liberties, and Franchises that had been unjustly taken from them, revived and confirmed the Laws of the Land, that had been overturned, and maintained the Protestant Religion, that had been oppressed by a King, that was engaged by a solemn Oath to defend it; but instead thereof, hath endeavoured with all his power to extirminate it, and what is most worthy of admiration and astonishment, he hath performed all these things without any effusion of Blood, or the least disorders committed by his Forces. After so many, and such signal Services rendered to the State, did he not deserve to be set on the Throne, tho the right of Succession indeed devolves first upon the Princess his Wife, and after her, on the Princess of *Denmark* before it falls on his Head? And this so much the more, in regard that neither the *English*, nor the *French*, nor other Christian Nations, have always observed the order of Succession. And if this order hath been neglected in favour of some Princes, that have not rendered any considerable Services to the Common-wealth; how much the rather ought they to take a little larger step than ordinarily, in behalf of a Prince that hath saved, and delivered the State, and preserved it from ruin and desolation?

There is nothing that obliges our Consciences more, than the keeping of our Laws, which have been made by our Ancestors, for the Preservation of our Religion, and which our Fore-fathers and we have sworn to maintain: If the Parliament of *England*, that was convened after the Death of King *Charles II.* went beyond these Laws in setting King *James II.* on the Throne, who was a Papist, and made open Profession of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, which hath never been done since these Laws were enacted; ought any scruple of Conscience to be made in giving the Crown to the Prince of *Orange*, who is (as we have said) the first Prince of the Royal Blood, and hath Married the Princess *Mary* of *England*, who according to the Laws of the Kingdom, ought immediately to have succeeded King *Charles II.* her paternal Uncle, to the exclusion of her Father, because she was a Protestant, and her Father a Papist? Since by the Laws of *England* (as we have already observed) Catholicks are excluded from all Publick Offices. If the Lords Spiritual, that assisted in Parliament, when *James II.* was contrary to the Laws advanced to the Throne, had maintained and protested, that that Prince could not be King of *England*, nor succeed to the Crown, because he was excluded by his Religion, and that the Crown of Right belonged to the Princess of *Orange* his Daughter, who was a Protestant; it is certain that they would thereby have gained to themselves great Honour, would have done an act of Conscience and Generosity; and would by this means have prevented all the Mischiefs that have since ensued; and the Duke of *York* would not have had cause to complain of the Princess his Daughter, in regard she did not hinder him from ascending the Throne, but the Laws of the Kingdom, and his Religion.

VI. Inasmuch as the safety of the People is the Sovereign Law of Estates, according to the Maxims of true Policy, the *English* would have made but very little provision for their security, if they had not set the Prince of *Orange* on the Throne; they saw indeed that King *James* was fled into *France*, but it was only to procure Supplies, and to Excite all the Catholick Princes to assist him to recover his Kingdom, and since he

is a Person of an extreme active and vigorous temper, it was so much the more requisite for them to set up a Prudent, Valiant, and potent Prince, in opposition to him, such an one is the Prince of *Orange*, who being King of Great Britain, and Captain General of the United Provinces, would have Forces sufficient to repel and frustrate all the Attempts of the late King *James*, and his Adherents.

VII. Furthermore the People Create, Establish and Crown Kings, who bind themselves by an Oath, to rule according to the Laws of the Kingdom, and to maintain them in their Rights, Liberties, and Privileges, and are invested by them with such a Power as they think fit, and thus Crowns are made either Elective or Successive; in Elective Kingdoms, respect is had only to the Prince that is chosen, and when he dies, the Crown returns into the Hands of the People, who dispose of it to whom they please; but when the Crown is Successive, it is confined to one Family, which happening to be extinct, it falls again into the Hands of the People, who bestow it on another Family, with such Reservations and Conditions, as they find to be convenient. But the People in giving Crowns, do not so far relinquish their right, as not to be capable of resuming them, when the Persons intrusted, do not according to the Laws and Constitutions under which they received them. Thus we have seen in *Poland*, where the Crown is Elective, as also in *Sweden* and *Denmark*, where it was so formerly, that the People have often taken it from Princes that have abused their Power, or when they have judged them incapable of maintaining it. The Nation of the *Jews* at first, set the Crown on the Head of *Saul*, afterwards they took it from his Family, and gave it to that of *David*. The Crown of *France* remained above two hundred years in the Family of the *Merovingians*; from thence it passed into that of *Charlemagne*, and at last was transferred to the Race of *Hugh Capet*; forasmuch then as the People dispose of Crowns, it is a certain proof, that they belong to them; for none can give away that which they have not in their possession.

If the power of bestowing Crowns, and Establishing Kings, be not inherent in the People, neither *Pepin*, nor *Hugh Capet*, and their Successors, could be esteemed lawful Kings of *France*, but Usurpers; for they had no right, but what was granted by the Estates of the Nation, nor they were not Princes of the Royal Blood, but only Officers of the Crown, and Ministers of State; and whereas a Successor can have no more right than his Predecessor, nor an Heir than his Testator; it follows that they and their Successors usurped the Throne of *France*. *Chilperic V.* or according to the opinion of others, *Childeric III.* who was the last King of the first Race, was lineally descended from *Merovius*, and consequently a Legitimate King by the Right of Succession; notwithstanding the Estates General of *France* assembled at *Soissons*, deprived him of the Crown, and gave it to *Pepin*, the Son of the principal Minister of State, who could lay no claim to it. *Charles Duke of Lorrain* (even according to the Judgment of the French Historiographers) was a true and lawful Successor to the Crown, as being the Brother of *Lotharius*, and Uncle to *Lewis V.* the last Kings of *France* of the second Race; however the Estates General convened at *Noion*, debarred him from the Succession, in favour of *Hugh Capet*, who was only Chief Minister of State. The Reasons that the Estates of *France* alledged for deposing one of these Kings, and for excluding the other, are groundless and frivolous. *Childeric* was accused as an idle Person, that took no care of the Government of his Kingdom; but what was the cause of this? The principal Ministers of State being ambitious of ruling alone, never gave any account of publick Affairs to the last Kings of the first Race, and caused them to be employed in Divertisements, that were not suitable to their Quality, nor to the Grandeur of their Birth,

on purpose to render them odious, and contemptible to the People, that they might take an occasion to snatch the Crown out of their Hands, as appeared by the Event. And *Charles* was impeached for conversing with and residing amongst the *Germans*, who were Enemies to *France*, and for paying Homage to the Emperor for *Lorraine*; the first of these Accusations was false, since during the time that *Charles* was in *Germany* with the Emperor *Otto*, his Cousin *German*, there was no War between the *Germans* and the *French*; and as for the Homage render'd to the Emperor for *Lorraine*, that was agreed to in a Treaty made between his Imperial Majesty, and the *French*, the former of which had *Lorraine* in his possession, and might have kept it, but he surrendered it upon condition, that it should be given to *Charles* the Kings Brother, and that he should pay him Homage for it. If the People of *France* have a Power to take away the Crown from *Childeric*, and to debar *Charles* from it, to whom it appertained by a Legitimate Succession; hath not the *English* Nation a like Power to take away the Crown of *England* from *James II.* to give it to the Prince of *Orange*? Or have the *English* a less Right to the Crown of *England*, than the *French* have to the Crown of *France*? It was an easie matter to apply a Remedy to the Sloth and Idleness of *Childeric*, by depriving the prime Minister of the Administration of the Government, and by giving him faithful Counsellors, that might have instructed him in the Knowledge of the Affairs of his Kingdom, and might have perswaded him to use such Exercises and Recreations, as were honourable and besitting the Majesty of a King; or such provision might have been made for the security of the State, as is usual during the Minority of Kings, by giving him a Regent or Coadjutor; but the *English* could not avoid the mischiefs that King *James II.* brought upon the Kingdom of *England*, by subverting the Laws, and depriving his Subjects of their Liberties and Properties, but by a general Insurrection of the whole Nation, or by calling the Prince of *Orange* to assist them; the first of these means would have caused an intestine War, which would have spilt much Blood, and overturned the Government; the second was the most gentle, most proper, and most advantageous way for the good of the State, and safety of the People, which (as we have said) is the Supreme Law, and the *English* by making use of the last of these Expedients, to prevent the oppressions that were ready to overtake them, and to remedy those that they already suffer'd, have made manifest their great Prudence and Circumspection, since without spilling any Blood, or causing any Disorders or Commotions in the State; they have re-established their Laws, recovered their Liberties, and Privileges, and secured their Religion. The Laws of *England* excluded *James II.* as hath been already proved, but there was on Law in *France* that debarred *Childeric*, and *Charles* from the Crown; on the contrary, all the Statutes of that Kingdom were favourable to them, they professed the same Religion as their Subjects, and had an unquestionable right of Succession. If an Infant King be permitted to Reign, who is not capable of governing his Kingdom, or an adulterous, drunken, or prodigal Prince, 1. That riotously wastes and consumes the publick Revenues, and Treasure of the Crown, and that of the People, that borrows great Sums of Money, and takes no care to repay them, or that imposes Taxes, and Subsidies on his Subjects, at his pleasure, to enrich a Courtisan or a fawning Parasite; how much rather ought a Slothful King to be suffered; that is hurtful to none but himself. *James II.* subverted the Laws of the Kingdom, took from his Subjects their Liberties and Privileges, and would have set up an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, *Childeric*, and *Charles* of *Lorraine* were guilty of no such Faults: *James II.* fled and abdicated the Government of his Kingdom; but *Childeric*, and *Charles* stood their Ground, and trusted to their just Right. The *French* were not satisfied with deposing these two Princes, without their having

reserved it, but they shut up the first with his Wife and Son in a Monastery, shaved him, and forced him to quit his Scepter and Crown, to wear a Frock, and a Waistcoat made of Horse-hair, as long as he lived, and they condemned the last with his Wife and Children to perpetual imprisonment; altho the *English* had a King that had offered them innumerable injuries, that would have extirpated their Religion, ruined the State, and made his Subjects Slaves, tho divine Providence had caused him to fall into their Hands after his escape, and tho they might have compelled him to lead the remainder of his Life in Prison, and by this means might have hindered him from attempting any thing, nevertheless they permitted him to stay, or to go where he pleased, without the least violence or constraint. The *French* do not only take away the Crown from Parents, but also from their Issue; but the *English* after the Father hath renounced it, bestow it on his Children, and preserve it for his Posterity. The *French* depose lawful Kings to set Strangers on the Throne; since they admit Persons that are not of the Royal Blood, and consequently such as can have no right, nor any manner of pretension to it; but the *English* give the Crown to the first Prince, and Princess of the Royal Blood: *Pepin* and *Hugh Capet* had no Title to the Crown of *France*, but that which the People granted to them; but besides that the Prince and Princess of *Orange* have the Right of the People to the Crown of *England*, since the Parliament, which are the General Estates of the Kingdom, and represent the whole Nation, hath set them on the Throne, they have also the right of Succession, which *Pepin* and *Hugh Capet* never had; the Prince also hath a Third, viz. the great and signal Services that he hath rendered to the State; for in regard that he hath delivered the Kingdom, re-established the Laws, restored to the People their Rights and Privileges, and maintained their Religion; did he not deserve to be set in the place of him that had excluded himself from the Crown, by going about to ruin the Nation; since this is the ordinary recompence that is given to the Deliverers of their Country? After this I leave it to the Judgment of all Men of Sense and Reason, whether *William III.* be not a more Legitimate King of *England*, than the Successors of *Hugh Capet* are of *France*.

But it is matter of Astonishment, that the *French* Writers durst presume to say, that the Prince of *Orange* is an Usurper of the Crown of *England*; this Title is not suitable to a Prince that had so just a Right to it, but it agreeth much better with their King *Lewis XIV.* who thinks of, and studies nothing else, but how he may usurp the Countries of his Neighbours. In the Year 1667. after the Death of the King of *Spain* his Father-in-Law, he entred into *Flanders* with a Potent Army, and without any Declaration of War, besieged and took the Cities of the young King, who was his Brother-in-Law, and Cousin *German*, and an Infant, and this he did without any Right or Justice, as it hath been proved by the Answer to a Book entituled, *The Rights of the Queen of France, &c.* as also contrary to the *Pyrenean Treaty of Peace*, made between *Spain* and *France*; and he had infallibly seized on all *Flanders*, if *England* and the United Provinces had not opposed him. Now what can be said of such a King, that contrary to the Articles of Peace, most solemnly ratified, and the Law of Nations, unjustly seizes on the Dominions of another King, his Brother-in-Law, and Cousin *German*, a Prince that was but an Infant, and had lately lost his Father, and to whom consequently he ought to have supplied the place of a Parent, but that he is a true Usurper?

Lewis XIV. In the year 1672. not being able to invade *Flanders*, because *England* and *Holland* vigorously opposed him, undertook to subdue the United Provinces, and frankly declared War against them, without any lawful, or cause, or provocation given by them, for the very reading of his Declaration, will be sufficient to justify this

truth,

truth, he took two or three Provinces from the *Hollanders* in this War, which at last he was compelled to restore, and to desire a Peace with them; whereas he thought to have conquered all the United Provinces, and afterwards easily to have made himself Master of all the *Spanish* low Countries.

The War of the *Hollanders*, and their Allies against the *French*, being ended by the Treaty of *Nimueguen*, the Empire and *Spain*, slept securely under the Mantle of Peace, whilst *France* was awake, and sought for an opportunity to surprize them; for about two or three years after the Peace was ratified, and published on both sides, *Strasbourg* that was one of the Bulwarks of the Empire, was besieged without any Declaration of War, by a Puissant Army of *France*, and was forced to surrender, since there was no hopes or prospect of relief. About the same time the King of *France* constituted a Royal Court at *Metz*, and appointed such Judges therein as he thought fit, which were hired by him, and consequently all devoted to his interests, summoned divers Princes of the Empire to appear before this Court, where he was both Judge and Party, and took away their Countries from them, under pretence of dependences; by this means he usurped from the King of *Sweden*, the Duchy of *Deux Pons*, from the Princes of *Montbéliard*, and *La Petite Pierre* all their Dominions, from the Prince *Palatine* three Bailliages, and from the Emperor all *Alsatis*, and he hath lately taken from the Prince of *Orange* his Principality, from the Pope the City and County of *Avignon*, and from the Prince *Palatine*, all the *Palatinate*. Forasmuch then as *Lewis XIV.* contrary to the sacred obligation of Treaties, and the Law of Nations, hath seized on the Dominions and Territories of the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, the King of *Sweden*, the Princes and Cities of the Empire and of the Prince of *Orange*, and hath not so much as spared the Patrimony of the Church; the Title of Usurper is truly and properly applicable to him, and not to the Person on whom they would most unjustly impose it.

Lastly, we find it recorded in sacred Writ, that the Ten Tribes of *Israel* revolted from the Dominion of *Rehoboam*, and made another King, who was not of the Royal Race, only because he refused to ease them of certain Subsidies and Imposts, that *Solomon* his Father had laid on them; and God approved of what they had done, since he thus spake by his Prophet to *Rehoboam*, and to the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, that were assembled to make War against the Ten Tribes; *Ye shall not go up, nor Fight against your Brethren, the Children of Israel; return every Man to his House, for this thing is from me.* We read also in profane History, that the *Romans* drove out their King *Tarquinius*, because his Son that should have succeeded him in the Kingdom, had Ravished *Lucretia*, a *Roman* Lady, and that they altered the Form of their Government, converting it from a Monarchy into a Commonwealth. That the *French* took away the Crown of *France* from *Childeric*, because his principal Minister of State, would not suffer him to interpose in the Affairs of his Kingdom, and having made himself Master of the temper and disposition of his Mind, as well as of the Administration of the Government, caused him to be employed in exercises not becoming his Royal Dignity and Grandeur, and that they excluded *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, without any just cause, from his Legitimate Succession to the Crown, and admitted *Hugh Capet* that had no right to it. The *Swedes* also deprived their King *Sigismund* of the Crown, because he chose rather to reside in *Poland*, where he had been before Elected King, than in *Sweden* his own Native Country. And in our Age the *Polanders* caused *Casimire* to renounce the Crown, because he was Old, and had been a little unfortunate in the Wars between *Sweden* and *Poland*; and in regard that they expected a Rupture with the *Grand Signior*, they judged it necessary for the good of the State, to set another on the Throne,

that might be better able to maintain and defend it. And the *Turky* within these two years have deposed *Mahomet IV.* and his Son, and set up *Solyman* his Brother in his place, only because he had not obtained Success in the War that he undertook against the Empire of *Germany*: Divers other Examples might be produced, that are to be found in History, where we read of several Kings, that were deprived of their Crowns for small faults, and many more for having abused their Power; and forasmuch as so many Nations have Dethroned their Kings for slight and trivial Offences, and have advanced others to the Royal Dignity, without having respect to the right Line or Order of Succession, nay, some that have had no right to it; who can blame the *English*, for having taken away the Crown from a King that had basely deserted it, that had obtained it contrary to the Laws of the State, that had overturned the Statutes of the Kingdom, had often violated his Oath, had deprived his Subjects of their Liberties and Properties, without any cause, and at last would have Exterminated the Protestant Religion that was Predominant, and would have Established an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government? Upon the whole matter, they that cast Aspersions on the *English* Nation, and King *William*, cannot pass amongst honest People, and in the judgment of reasonable Persons; but for Sycophants and infamous Calumniators. If the late King *James* had not committed all these Enormous Outrages, whereof the *English* accuse him, they would not have let the Crown fall from his Head, but would have defended him against the Prince of *Orange*, as they had formerly done against the Duke of *Monmouth*; and since this King hath been dispossessed of the Crown, without the Effusion of Blood; it is a certain Sign, that Heaven approves of what the *English* People have done; and that Divine Providence hath Exalted *William III.* to the Throne, for the general Good and Advantage of all Christendom.

F I N I S.

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